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HUMAN PROGRESS: PAST AND FUTURE.

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THE word progress, as used above, has two distinct meanings, not always recognized, whence has arisen some confusion of ideas. It may mean either an advance in material civilization, or in the mental and moral nature of man, and these are far from being synonymous. Material civilization is essentially cumulative. Each generation benefits by the trials and failures of the preceding generation; and since the discovery of printing has facilitated the preservation and circulation of all new knowledge, progress of this kind has gone on at an ever accelerated pace. But this does not imply any general increase of mental power. Step by step the science of mathematics has advanced immensely since the time of Newton, but the advance does not prove that the mathematicians of to-day have a greater genius for mathematics — are really greater mathematicians — than Newton and his contemporaries, or even than the Greeks of the time of Euclid and Archimedes. Our modern steam engines and locomotives far surpass those of Watt and Robert Stephenson, but of the hundreds who have labored to improve them perhaps none have surpassed those great men in mechanical genius. And so it is with every item which goes to form that which we term our civilization. We have risen, step by step, on the ladders and scaffolds erected by our predecessors, and if we can now mount higher and see further than they could it does not in the least prove that we are, on the average, greater men, intellectually, than they were. The ques-

tion I propose to discuss is one quite apart from that of civilization as usually understood. It is, whether mankind have advanced as intellectual and moral beings; and, if so, by what agencies and under what laws have they so advanced in the past, and what are the conditions under which that advance may be continued in the future.

We have, first, to inquire whether there is any evidence of such an advance in human nature during historic times; and this is by no means so simple a problem and one so easily answered as is sometimes supposed. If there has been any cause constantly at work tending to elevate human nature, we should expect it to manifest itself by a perceptible rise in the culminating points reached by mankind, in the intellectual and moral spheres, at successive periods. But no such continuous rise of the high-water mark of humanity is perceptible. The earliest known architectural work, the great pyramid of Egypt, in the mathematical accuracy of its form and dimensions, in its precise orientation, and in the perfect workmanship shown by its internal structure, indicates an amount of astronomical, mathematical, and mechanical knowledge, and an amount of experience and practical skill, which could only have been attained at that early period of man's history by the exertion of mental ability no way inferior to that of our best modern engineers. In purely intellectual achievements the Vedas of ancient India, the Iliad of Homer, the book of Job, and the writings of Plato, will rank with the noblest works of modern authors. In sculpture and in architecture the ancient Greeks attained to a height of beauty, harmony, and dignity, that has never been equalled in modern times; and taking account also of the great statesmen, commanders, philosophers, and poets of the age of Pericles, Mr. Francis Galton is of opinion "that the average ability of the Athenian race was, on the lowest possible estimate, very nearly two grades higher than our own — that is, about as much as our race is above that of the African negro."*

There is, therefore, some reason to think that the intellectual high-water level of humanity has sunk rather than risen during the last two thousand years; but this is not incompatible with the elevation of the mean level of the human ocean both intellectually and morally. We must,

* "Hereditary Genius," p. 342.

therefore, briefly consider the various agencies that have been at work, some tending to raise others to depress this level; and by balancing the one against the other, and taking account of certain modern developments of human nature in civilized societies, we may be able to arrive at some probable conclusion as to the final result.

During the whole course of human history the struggle of tribe with tribe and race with race has inevitably caused the destruction of the weaker and lower, leaving the stronger and higher, whether physically or mentally stronger, to survive. Another and perhaps not less potent cause of the destruction of lower tribes is the greater vital energy and more rapid increase of the higher races, which crowds the lower out of existence even when no violent destruction of life takes place. To this latter cause quite as much as to actual warfare must we ascribe the total disappearance of the Tasmanians, and the continuous diminution of population among the Maoris of New Zealand and the inhabitants of the Eastern Pacific Islands, as well as of the red Indians of the North American continent. Here we see survival of the fittest among competing peoples necessarily leading to a continuous elevation of the human race as a whole, even though the higher portion of the higher races may remain stationary or may even deteriorate.

But a similar and even more complex process is ever going on within each race, by the survival of the more fit and the elimination of the less fit under the actual conditions of society. On the whole we cannot doubt that the prudent, the sober, the healthy, and the virtuous, live longer lives than the reckless, the drunkards, the unhealthy, and the vicious; and also that the former, on the average, leave more descendants than the latter. It is true that the latter not unfrequently marry earlier and have larger families; but many of these die young, and as, on the whole, children resemble their parents, fewer of them will survive and leave offspring. Thus accidents, violence, and the effects of a reckless and vicious life, are natural checks to the increase of population among these classes, and this inevitably gives an advantage to the more intellectual, the more prudent, and the more moral portion of each race. The latter will, therefore, increase at the expense of the former, and thus again tend to raise the mean level of humanity.

But society has always, in one way or another, interfered with these beneficent processes, and has thus retarded the general advance. The celibacy of the clergy and the refuge offered by monasteries and nunneries to many to whom the rude struggle of the world was distasteful, and whose gentle natures fitted them for deeds of charity or to excel in literature or art, prevented the increase of these nobler individuals, and thus, as Mr. Galton well remarks, "the Church, by a policy singularly unwise and suicidal, brutalized the breed of our forefathers." By a still more deplorable policy, independent thought, and that true nobility which refuses to purchase life by a lifelong lie, was almost exterminated in Europe by religious persecution. It is calculated that for the three centuries between 1471 and 1781, a thousand persons annually were either executed or imprisoned by the Inquisition in Spain alone. In Italy it was even worse; while in France during the seventeenth century three or four hundred thousand Protestants perished in prison, at the galleys, or on the scaffold.

Another cause which has had a prejudicial effect at all times, and which continues in action in the civilized societies of to-day, is the system of inherited wealth, which gives to the weak and vicious an undue advantage both in the certainty of subsistence without labor, and in the greater opportunity for early marriage and leaving a numerous offspring. We also interfere with the course of nature by preserving the weak, the sickly, or the malformed infants; but in this, probably, humanity gains rather than loses, since many who are in infancy weak or distorted exhibit superior mental or moral qualities which are a gain to civilization, while the cultivation of humane and sympathetic feelings in their care and nurture is itself of the greatest value.

Balancing, as well as we are able, these various opposing influences, it seems probable that there has been, on the whole, a decided gain. Health, perseverance, self-restraint, and intelligence have increased by slowly weeding out the unhealthy, the idle, the grossly vicious, the cruel, and the weak-minded, and it may be in part owing to the increased numbers of the higher and gentler natures thus brought about that we may impute the undoubted growth of humanity,—of sympathy with the sufferings of men and animals, which is perhaps the most marked and most cheering of the characteristics of our age.

But although the natural process of elimination does actually raise the mean level of humanity by the destruction of the worst and most degraded individuals, it can have little or no tendency to develop higher types in each successive age; and this agrees with the undoubted fact that the great men who appeared at the dawn of history and at the culminating epochs of the various ancient civilizations, were not, on the whole, inferior to those of our own age. It remains, therefore, a mystery how and why mankind reached to such lofty pinnacles of greatness in early times, when there seems to be no agency at work, then or now, calculated to do more than weed out the lower types. Leaving this great problem as, for the present, an insoluble one, we may turn to that aspect of the question which is of the most vital present day interest, — whether any agencies are now at work or can be suggested as practicable, which will produce a steady advance, not only in the average of human nature, but in those higher developments which now, as in former ages, are the exceptions rather than the rule.

Till quite recently the answer to this question would have been an unhesitating affirmative. Education, it would have been said, is such an agency; and although hitherto it has done comparatively little, owing to the very partial and extremely unscientific way in which it has been applied, we have now acquired such a sound knowledge of its philosophy and have so greatly improved its methods, that it has become a power by which human nature may be indefinitely modified and improved. When every child is really well educated, when its moral as well as its intellectual faculties are trained and developed, some portion of the improvement effected in each generation will be transmitted to the next, and thus a continual advance both in the intellectual and moral nature will be brought about.

Almost all who have discussed the subject have held that this is the true and only method of improving human nature, because they believe that in the analogous case of the bodily structure the modification and improvement of all organisms has been effected by a similar process. Lamarck taught that the effects produced by use and exertion on the body of the individual animal was, wholly or in part, transmitted to the offspring; and although Darwin's theory of natural selection rendered this agency almost if not altogether unnecessary, yet

it was so universally held to be a fact of nature that Darwin himself adopted it as playing a subsidiary but not unimportant part in the modification of species. So little doubt had he of this "transmission of acquired characters" that his celebrated theory of Pangenesis was framed so as to account for it. In order to explain, hypothetically, how it was that the increased size or strength given to a limb or an organ by constant exercise was transmitted to the progeny, he supposed that the male and female germ-cells were formed by the aggregation of inconceivably minute gemmules from every tissue and cell of every part of the body, that these gemmules were continually renewed and continually flowing towards the reproductive organs, and that they had the property of developing into cells and structures in the offspring which more or less closely resembled the corresponding cells and structures in the parents at that particular epoch of their lives. Thus was explained the transmission of disease, and the supposed transmission of the changes produced in the parents by use or disuse of organs or by other external conditions. For example, if two brothers, equally strong and healthy, became, one a city clerk the other a farmer, land-surveyor, or rural postman, living much in the open air and walking many miles every day of his life, and if they married two sisters equally alike in constitution, then the children of these two couples, especially those born when their parents approached middle age and the different conditions of their existence had had time to produce its full effect on their bodily structure, ought to show a decided difference, the one family being undergrown, pale, and rather weak in the lower limbs, the other the reverse, and this difference should be observable even if the children of the two families were brought up together under identical conditions. It may be here stated that no trustworthy observations have ever been made showing that such effects are really produced, but it has always been believed that they must be produced.

As Darwin's theory of Pangenesis led to considerable discussion, Mr. Francis Galtow, who had at first accepted it provisionally, endeavored to put it to the test of experiment. He obtained a number of specimens of two distinct varieties of domestic rabbits which breed true, and by an ingenious and painless arrangement caused a large quantity of the blood of one variety to be transfused into the blood-vessels

of the other variety. This having been effected with a number of individuals without in any way injuring their health, they were separated and bred from. It was found that in every case the offspring resembled their parents and showed no trace of intermixture of the two varieties. It was also pointed out by another critic that if the theory of Pangenesis were true, the stock on which a fruit is grafted ought to change the character of the fruit produced by the graft, which, as a rule, it does not do.

Doubt being thus thrown on the validity of the theory, Mr. Galton suggested another, in which the germs in the reproductive organs of each individual were supposed to be derived directly from the parental germs and not at all from the body itself during its growth and development. A very similar theory was proposed some years later by Professor Weismann under the now well-known term "the continuity of the germ plasm." Both these theories imply that, except among the lower single-celled animals and in certain exceptional cases among the higher animals, no change produced in the individual during life by exercise or other external conditions, can be transmitted to its offspring. What is transmitted is the capacity to develop into a form more or less closely resembling that of the parents or their direct ancestors, the characteristics of these appearing in the offspring in varying degrees and compounded in various ways, leading to that wonderful variety in details while preserving a certain unmistakable family resemblance. Thus are explained not only bodily but mental characteristics, even those peculiar tricks of motion or habits which are often adduced as proofs of the transmission of an acquired character, but which are really only the transmission of the minute peculiarities of physical structure and nervous or cerebral co-ordination, which led to the habit in question being acquired by the parent or ancestor, and, under similar conditions, by his descendant.

Finding that his theory, if true, did not allow of the hereditary transmission of the majority of individually *acquired* characters, Weismann was led to examine the evidence for such transmission, and found that hardly any real evidence existed, and that in most cases which appeared to prove it, either the facts were not accurately stated, or another interpretation could be given to them. The transmission

had been assumed because it appeared so natural and probable; but in science we require as the foundation of our reasoning not probability only, but proof; or if we cannot get direct proof, then the probability which arises from *all* the phenomena being such as would occur if the theory in question were true, and this so completely as to give us the power of predicting what will occur under new and hitherto untried conditions. Such is the probability in favor of the existence of an ethereal medium whose undulations produce light and heat, of atoms which combine to form the molecules of the various elements, and of the molecular theory of gases. The biologists of Europe, though usually slow to accept new theories in the place of old ones, have given to the theories of Weismann and Galton an amount of acceptance which was never accorded to Darwin's theory of Pangenesis, notwithstanding the weight of his great reputation; and they are now seeking earnestly for facts which shall serve as crucial tests of the rival theories, just as the phenomena of interference served as a test of the rival theories of light.

We have here only to deal with the theory of the non-inheritance of acquired characters as it affects mental and moral qualities; and in this department it has to encounter great opposition, because it seems to bar the way against any improvement of the race by means of education. If the theory is a true one, it certainly proves that it is not by the direct road of education, as usually understood, that humanity has advanced and must advance, although education may, in an indirect manner, be an important factor of progress. Let us, however, look at the problem as presented by the rival theories, and see what light is thrown upon it by the history of those great men who have most contributed to the advance of civilization, and who serve well to illustrate the successive high-water marks attained by human genius.

If progress is in any important degree dependent on the hereditary transmission of the effects of culture, as distinguished from the transmission of innate genius, or of the various talents and aptitudes with which men and women are born, then we should expect to see indications of such transmission in the continuous increase of mental power wherever any family or group of families have for several generations been subjected to culture or training of any

particular kind. It has, in fact, been claimed that this is the case, for in his presidential address to the Biological Society of Washington, in January, 1891, Mr. Lester F. Ward argues that not only is Professor Weismann's great ability a result of the rigid methods of training in the German universities, but that "those rigid methods themselves have been the product of a series of generations of such training, transmitted in small increments and diffused in increasing effectiveness to the whole German people. . . . And the fact, that out of the barbaric German hordes of the Middle Ages there has been developed the great modern race of German specialists is one of the most convincing proofs of the transmission of acquired characters, as well as of the far-reaching value to the future development of the race of such an educational system as that which Germany has had for the last two or three centuries."

It will, I think, be admitted that, if this is "one of the most convincing proofs" of the transmission of the effects of culture, the theory of its transmissibility has but a weak foundation; for not only may the facts be explained in another way, but there is another body of facts which point with at least equal clearness in an exactly opposite direction. It may be said, for instance, that the eminence of German specialists in science is due primarily to special mental qualities which have always been characteristic of the German race, and to the facilities afforded for the culture of those faculties throughout life, by the very numerous professorships in their numerous universities, and by the comparative simplicity of German habits which renders the position of professor attractive to the highest intellects. And when we turn to other countries we find facts which tend in the opposite direction. In England, for example, during many centuries, Oxford and Cambridge Universities were closed to non-conformists, and their honors and rewards were reserved for members of the Established Church, and very largely for the families of the landed aristocracy. Yet in the short period that has elapsed since they were opened to dissenters, these latter have shown themselves fully equal to the hereditarily trained churchmen, and have carried off the highest honors in as great, and perhaps even in greater proportion than their comparative numbers in the universities.

Again, it is a remarkable fact, that almost all our great-

est inventors and scientific discoverers, the men whose originality and mental power have created landmarks in the history of human progress, have been self-taught, and have certainly derived nothing from the training of their ancestors in their several departments of knowledge. Brindley, one of the earliest of our modern engineers, was the son of a dissipated small freeholder; Telford, our greatest road and bridge builder, was the son of a shepherd, and apprenticed to a rough country mason; George Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive engine, was a self-taught collier; Bramah, the inventor of the hydraulic press, of improved locks, and almost the originator of machine tools, was the son of a farmer, and at seventeen years of age was apprenticed to the village carpenter; Smeaton, who designed and built the Eddystone lighthouse, was the son of a lawyer, and a wholly self-taught engineer; Harrison, the inventor of the modern chronometer, was a joiner and the son of a joiner; the elder Brunel was the son of a French peasant farmer, and was educated for a priest, yet he became a great self-taught engineer, designed and executed the first Thames tunnel, and at the beginning of this century designed the block-making machinery in Portsmouth dock-yard which was so complete both in plan and execution that it is still in use.

Coming now to higher departments of industry, science, and art, we find that Dollond, the inventor of the achromatic telescope, was a working silk weaver, and a wholly self-taught optician; Faraday was the son of a blacksmith, and apprenticed to a bookbinder at the age of thirteen; Sir Christopher Wren, the son of a clergyman and educated at Oxford, was a self-taught architect, yet he designed and executed St. Paul's Cathedral, which will certainly rank among the finest modern buildings in the world; Ray, the son of a blacksmith, became a good mathematician, and one of the greatest of our early naturalists; John Hunter, the great anatomist, was the son of a small Scotch land-owner; Sir William Herschel was the son of a German musician; Rembrandt was the son of a miller; the great linguists and oriental scholars, Alexander Murray and Dr. Leyden, were both sons of poor Scotch shepherds; while Shelley, whose poetic genius has rarely been surpassed, was the son of an altogether unpoetic and unsympathetic country squire.

These few examples, which might be easily increased so

as to fill a volume, serve to show, what is indeed seldom denied, that genius or superexcellence in any department of human faculty tends to be sporadic, that is, it appears suddenly without any proportionate development in the parents or immediate ancestors of the gifted individual. No doubt there is usually, or perhaps always, a considerable amount of the same mental qualities dispersed through the diverging ancestral line of all these men of genius, and their appearance seems to be well explained by a fortunate intermingling of the germ-plasms of several ancestors calculated to produce or to intensify the various mental peculiarities on which the exceptional faculties depend. This is rendered probable, also, by the fact that, although genius is often inherited it rarely or never intensifies after its first appearance, which it certainly should do if not only the genius itself, but the increased mental power due to its exercise were also inherited. Brunel, Stephenson, Dollond, and Herschel, all had sons who followed in the steps of their fathers, but it will be generally admitted that in no case did the sons exceed or even equal their parents in originality and mental power. So, if we look through the copious roll of names of great poets, and painters, sculptors, architects, engineers, or scientific discoverers, we shall hardly ever find even two of the same name and profession, and never three or four, rising progressively to loftier heights of genius and fame. Yet this is what we ought to find if not only the innate faculty, but the increased development given to that faculty by continuous exercise, tends to be inherited.*

If it is thought that this non-inheritance of the results of education and training is prejudicial to human progress, we must remember that, on the other hand, it also prevents the continuous degradation of humanity by the inheritance of those vicious practices and degrading habits which the deplorable conditions of our modern social system undoubtedly foster in the bulk of mankind. Throughout all trade and commerce lying and deceit abound to such an extent that it has come to be considered essential to success. No

* The only prominent example that looks like a progressive increase of faculty for three generations is that of Dr. Erasmus Darwin and his grandson Charles Darwin. But in this case the special faculties displayed by the grandson were quite distinct from those of the grandfather and father; while if we consider the different state of knowledge at the time when Erasmus Darwin lived, his occupation in a laborious profession, and the absence of that stimulus to thought which the five years' voyage round the world gave to his grandson, it is not at all certain that in originality and mental powers, the former was not fully the equal of the latter.

dealer ever tells the exact truth about the goods he advertises or offers for sale, and the grossly absurd misrepresentations of material and quality we everywhere meet with have, from their very commonness, ceased to shock us. Now it is surely a great blessing if we can believe that this widespread system of fraud and falsehood does not produce any inherited deterioration in the next generation. And it is equally satisfactory to believe that the physical deterioration produced on the thousands who annually exchange country for town life will have no permanent effect on their offspring if they return at any time to more healthy conditions. And we have direct evidence that this is so in the fact that the street arabs of our great cities, when brought up under healthy and elevating conditions in the colonies, usually improve both physically, intellectually, and morally, so as to be fully equal to the average of their fellow-countrymen.

It appears, then, that the non-inheritance of the effects of training, of habits, and of general surroundings, whether these be good or bad, is by no means a hindrance to human progress, if, as seems not improbable, the results on the individual of our present social arrangements are, on the whole, evil. It may be fairly argued that the rich suffer, morally and intellectually, from these conditions quite as much as do the poor; and that the lives of idleness, of pleasure, of excitement, or of debauchery, which so many of the wealthy lead, is as soul-deadening and degrading in its effects as the sordid struggle for existence to which the bulk of the workers are condemned. It is, therefore, a relief to feel that all this evil and degradation will leave no permanent effects whenever a more rational and more elevating system of social organization is brought about.

If, then, education, training, and surrounding conditions can do nothing to affect permanently the march of human progress, how, it may be asked, is that progress to be brought about; or are we to be condemned to remain stationary in that average condition which, in some unknown way, the civilized nations of the world have now reached? We reply, that progress is still possible, nay, is certain, by the continuous and perhaps increasing action of two general principles, both forms of selection. The one is that process of elimination already referred to, by which vice, violence, and recklessness so often bring about the early destruction

of those addicted to them. The other, and by far the more important for the future, is that mode of selection which will inevitably come into action through the ever-increasing freedom, joined with the higher education of women.

There have already been ample indications in the pages of *THE ARENA* that the women of America, no less than those of other civilized countries, are determined to secure their personal, social, and political freedom, and are beginning to see the great part they have to play in the future of humanity. When such social changes have been effected that no woman will be compelled, either by hunger, isolation, or social compulsion, to sell herself whether in or out of wedlock, and when all women alike shall feel the refining influence of a true humanizing education, of beautiful and elevating surroundings, and of a public opinion which shall be founded on the highest aspirations of their age and country, the result will be a form of human selection which will bring about a continuous advance in the average status of the race. Under such conditions, all who are deformed either in body or mind, though they may be able to lead happy and contented lives, will, as a rule, leave no children to inherit their deformity. Even now we find many women who never marry because they have never found the man of their ideal. When no woman will be compelled to marry for a bare living or for a comfortable home, those who remain unmarried from their own free choice will certainly increase, while many others, having no inducement to an early marriage, will wait till they meet with a partner who is really congenial to them.

In such a reformed society the vicious man, the man of degraded taste or of feeble intellect, will have little chance of finding a wife, and his bad qualities will die out with himself. The most perfect and beautiful in body and mind will, on the other hand, be most sought and therefore be most likely to marry early, the less highly endowed later, and the least gifted in anyway the latest of all, and this will be the case with both sexes. From this varying age of marriage, as Mr. Galton has shown, there will result a more rapid increase of the former than of the latter, and this cause continuing at work for successive generations will at length bring the average man to be the equal of those who are now among the more advanced of the race.

When this average rise has been brought about there must result a corresponding rise in the high-water mark of humanity; in other words, the great men of that era will be as much above those of the last two thousand years as the average man will have risen above the average of that period. For, those fortunate combinations of germs which, on the theory we are discussing, have brought into existence the great men of our day will have a far higher average of material to work with, and we may reasonably expect the most distinguished among the poets and philosophers of the future will decidedly surpass the Homers and Shakespeares, the Newtons, the Goethes, and the Humboldts of our era.

Mr. Lester F. Ward has indeed urged, in his article on "The Transmission of Culture" (*Forum*, May, 1891), that, if Weismann's theory is true, then "education has no value for the future of mankind, and its benefits are confined exclusively to the generation receiving it." Another eminent scientist, Professor Joseph Le Conte, in his article on "The Factors of Evolution" (*The Monist*, Vol. I. p. 334), is still more desponding. He says,—“If it be true that reason must direct the course of human evolution, and if it be also true that selection of the fittest is the only method available for that purpose; then, if we are to have any race-improvement at all, the dreadful law of *destruction of the weak and helpless* must with Spartan firmness be carried out voluntarily and deliberately. Against such a course all that is best in us revolts.” These passages show that the supposed consequences of the theories of Weismann and Galton, have, very naturally, excited some antagonism, because they appear, if true, to limit or even to destroy all power of further evolution of mankind, except by methods which are revolting to our higher nature.

But I have endeavored to show, in the present article, that we are not limited to the depressing alternatives above set forth,—that education *has* the greatest value for the improvement of mankind,—and that selection of the fittest may be ensured by power and more effective agencies than the destruction of the weak and helpless. From a consideration of historical facts bearing upon the origin and development of human faculty I have shown reason for believing that it is only by a true and perfect system of education and the public opinion which such a system will create, that the

special mode of selection on which the future of humanity depends can be brought into general action. Education and environment, which have so often stunted and debased human nature instead of improving it, are powerless to transmit by heredity either their good or their evil effects; and for this limitation of their power we ought to be thankful. It follows, that when we are wise enough to reform our social economy and give to our youth a truer, a broader, and a more philosophical training, we shall find their minds free from any hereditary taint derived from the evil customs and mistaken teaching of the past, and ready to respond at once to that higher ideal of life and of the responsibilities of marriage which will, indirectly, become the greatest factor in human progress.

MOHAMMEDAN MARRIAGE AND LIFE.

BY PROF. A. N. JANNARIS, PH. D.

MOHAMMEDAN marriage and life has occasionally been discussed publicly, but strange to say, the very elements and requisites of dispute, that is a detailed and accurate account of the subject, seem never to have been laid before the public. All reports and contributions on the curious subject are but partial and disconnected chapters calculated to serve more or less personal ambition or political interests. The fact that Mohammedan home and family life is secluded from the external world and inaccessible to the explorer travelling through the East renders the subject peculiarly liable to sensational reports of ambitious imaginations and political speculations. I have read nearly all accounts and miraculous adventures published in English periodicals, and can state that, with very few exceptions, they do not, by any means, correspond to the truth. They partly refer to isolated incidents and adventures, partly are exaggerated descriptions of romantic character. Most of these stories, be it noted, date from the time during and after the Crimean War. Now, if we take into consideration the important fact that the said great war had been undertaken in behalf and for the rescue of Turkey, and resulted in her guardianship on the part of the great powers, we find no difficulty in accounting for the circumstance that the great majority of reports on Mohammedan life and custom are calculated to serve less the truth than the political considerations alluded to. This being so, nearly all accounts, particularly those of more or less responsible and official personages, never fail to betray an undisguised tendency towards bringing all glaring anomalies observed in Mohammedanism into reconciliation with civilization and even progress. This political convenience has been of late misunderstood in Mohammedan quarters, and has called forth various articles and publications which are rather amusing than serious. It is, indeed, astonishing to observe that even Moslems who claim a high education

and self-respect disregard the political aim of their Christian apologists, and assume an air of self-complaisance and glory in what they ought to be rather ashamed of. I do not see how far falsehood can serve patriotism. I am only surprised to see that all publications and articles proceeding from the pen of Mohammedan writers, instead of apologizing for the cruel injustice and inhumanity done to their women, endeavor to mislead or keep in the dark public opinion, and raise the matrimonial principles and customs of their faith to a model which Christian civilization might copy. I am not alluding here to Mohammedan eulogies and panegyrics of past times. I am simply referring to contemporaneous contributions which seem to multiply every year. I mention only three of them, by the way; one published in last April's *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and two more recent ones appeared in last May's and September's *Nineteenth Century* of London. Their Mohammedan authors spare no pains to assure the public of the enviable condition and felicity of Mohammedan women and wives, and thus pleading for intermarriage between their co-religionists and English girls, the reverse being out of question for reasons which I shall presently explain. In connection and accordance with these hardly unselfish and pertinent pleadings we hear that a Mohammedan propaganda has been started recently in Liverpool. The Islamic congregation, we are told, is spreading surprisingly through the gradual accession of new members mostly converts from Christian denominations. One of the latest and most significant conquests of this strange propaganda was achieved simultaneously with the publication of the above-mentioned articles. It was the first Mohammedan marriage ever celebrated in England. It took place on the 20th of April last, the contracting parties being Miss Charlotte Fitch, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Charles Fitch, J. P., London, and a Mohammedan named Mohammed Almad. The bride, being a professor of the Christian faith, a marriage under the ordinances of the Church of England had to be solemnized; and after meeting with refusals from several metropolitan clergymen, this was celebrated at St. Giles, Camberwell, London, on Saturday morning. In the afternoon the bridal pair proceeded to Liverpool where they had their wedding celebrated also in a rite which is professed to be customary and binding among Mohammedans.

I had known from personal experience in the East that a considerable number of Christian girls — amongst whom also were a few English — had been either abducted, allured, or otherwise compelled by the force of circumstance to acquiesce in a matrimonial union with Mohammedan men, but I had never expected to witness such a strange marriage being pompously contracted in a Christian country like England. My astonishment was still more intensified by the approbation with which it met on the part of the press. It was conspicuously heralded and romantically described in the Liverpool newspapers of the following Monday (April 22d), and reproduced in the London press. In short, the strange matrimony was, so to say, greeted as a happy event suggesting the idea of encouragement.

There is no doubt that the idea of marriage with an oriental follower of the prophet has, besides its heroic character, an unusual romance, and must meet with much favor in the vivid imagination and heart of many a broad-minded English or American girl. For in her romantic villa the noble Turkish lady

Within the gay kiosk reclined,
Above the scent of lemon groves,
Where bubbling fountains kiss the wind,
And birds make music to their loves.
She lives a kind of fairy life,
In sisterhood of fruits and flowers,
Unconscious of the outer life,
That wears the palpitating hours.

(*The Harem, R. M. Milnes.*)

This must be a delightful life, indeed, and no sensible man can blame an English girl who avows her willingness to exchange the wearisome, dull, commonplace, and hard life in these heavy cities for such a romantic paradise. But here arises naturally the question: Is Mohammedan life really so? I am not going to answer this question in its full sense, for it is too general and goes beyond my purpose and task. My object in this article is to inquire into that side of the question which concerns Mohammedan woman, that is her social position before and after marriage, as a girl and as a wife. Well, I am afraid that the picture given in the above poetry is illusory. It is a poetical conception, but by no means a description of the reality. My assertion may be at variance with Mohammedan enthusiasts and

writers, but I take the liberty of observing distinctly that *I am a native of those countries, and that my statements to follow are based upon personal observation, experience, and study.* This observation I have considered essential for a very simple reason. Mohammedan women being secluded and invisible to men, it might be inferred that no man of no matter what religion can speak of them from personal observation. This, however, is not absolutely correct. It is true that no man is admitted into the Mohammedan family life, but this rule applies rigidly to those infidel Europeans who go to the East when they are already grown up men and for a short stay. With the natives, however, the case is very different. For, notwithstanding the absolute strictness in the custom of secluding the harem (females) from the external world, a native is enabled, by circumstances occasionally offered to neighbors, to penetrate into the dark enclosures. Moreover, in the great majority of cases, Christian boys, up to their tenth or twelfth year, have more or less free access to the harems of their locality, and on the occasion of marriage ceremonies they are suffered to follow their mothers as guests, and walk freely amidst the Turkish women in their apartments (haremlik). This being the case with me, I venture to claim some more credit for reliable information than is to be attached to the reports of the majority of writers who draw their information from second or third hand sources. It is true that several episodes have been described by English women who claim personal and immediate observation, but it is equally true that their presence in Mohammedan harems was admitted by previous arrangement, and on the tacit understanding that they were wives and daughters of influential politicians or writing ladies. This fact accounts for the coincidence that the great majority of those reports relate to visits to harems of high standing beys and responsible pashas, who are anxious to have their domestic life represented in the most favorable light.

In lieu of dividing the subject into many heads and examining each point separately, I consider it more expedient and convenient to produce first the fundamental principles and provisions upon which Mohammedan matrimony is based; then to give a brief and clear sketch of Mohammedan marriage. In adopting this course I hope to give my readers, in an easier way, a more satisfactory insight into the whole

matter and, moreover, enable them to account for many side questions and incidents.

The first question naturally arising is, What is a Mohammedan marriage? Is it, as understood in Christendom, "*the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others?*" No, it is a very different thing. It is merely a civil act by which "*a man may lawfully have, at the same time, from one to four women as legitimate wives, besides an unlimited number of concubines, designated as female slaves.*" This is the true definition of Mohammedan marriage, and it is founded upon the Koran or Mohammedan Bible itself, that sacred basis of all Mohammedan civilization, religious, civil, and criminal. An eminent Mohammedan author observes:—

The origin of this law is "Al-Kuran" or "The Kuran" (Koran), and the Kuran is believed by the orthodox Mussulmans to have existed from eternity, subsisting in the very essence of God. The Prophet himself declared that it was revealed to him by the Angel Gabriel in various portions, and at different times. The texts are held by the Mohammedans to be unquestionable and decisive, as being the words of God (Kala' mul lah), transmitted to man through their Prophet, or, as he is emphatically called (by the believers), "the last of Prophets, Muhammad, the Apostle of God." Besides inculcating religion and theology, the Kuran contains also passages which are applicable to jurisprudence, and form the principal basis of the *Shraa*. Thus the law of the Mussulmans is founded upon revelation and blended with their religion, the Kuran being the fountain-head and first authority of all their laws, religious, civil, and criminal.—(*Shamachurn Sicar's Mohammedan Law, Part I, p. 3.*)

Says Allah to the prophet (33, 6): "O thou Prophet! verily we make lawful for thee thy wives to whom thou hast given hire (that is dower), what thy right hand possesses (that is slave girls) out of the booty that God has granted thee, and the daughters of thy paternal uncle, and the daughters of thy paternal aunts, and the daughters of the maternal uncle, and the daughters of the maternal aunts, provided they have fed with thee, and any believing woman, if she give herself to the Prophet; if the prophet desire to marry her a special privilege this for thee above the other believers."

The ordinary believers are directed expressly (4, 3):

"Marry what seems good to you of women, by twos, or threes, or fours, and if ye fear that ye cannot be equitable, then only one, or what your right hand possesses (that is 'female slaves')." "

And (4, 36): "The virtuous women are devoted, careful in their husband's absence, as God has cared for them. But those whose perverseness ye fear, admonish them, and remove them into bedchambers and *beat* them; but if they submit to you, then do not seek a way against them."

The spirit ruling through the provisions or commandments of the Koran has been interpreted and amplified by the said Sunnat, Hadis, Imjaa, and Kiyas, and ultimately codified by Mohammedan commentators and doctors. We subjoin a few of the most important articles, copied from Sir William H. Macnaghten's *Principles of Mohammedan Law* (P C. Sen, 1881, pp. 54-58).

Art. 7.—"The effect of a contract of marriage is to legalize the mutual enjoyment of the parties; to place the wife under the dominion of the husband; . . . to enforce behavior towards all his wives on the part of the husband with a power of correction in case of disobedience."

Art. 8.—"A freeman may have four wives, but a slave can have only two."

Art. 20.—"A necessary concomitant of a contract of marriage is dower (namely on the part of the husband), the maximum of which is not fixed, but the minimum is ten diens (that is about 6s. 8d. or \$1.70) and it becomes due on the consummation of the marriage,—though it is usual to stipulate for delay as to the payment of a part—or on the death of either party or on divorce."

Art. 24.—"A husband may divorce his wife without any misbehavior on her part, or without assigning any cause; but before the divorce becomes irreversible—according to the more approved doctrine—it must be repeated three times, and between each time the period of one month must be intervened, and in the interval he may take her back, either in an express or implied manner."

Art. 27.—"A vow of abstinence made by a husband and maintained inviolate for a period of four months amounts to an irreversible divorce."

Art. 28.—"Another mode of separation is by the husband's making oath, accompanied by an imprecation as to his wife's fidelity."

Page 73.—"In civic claims the evidence of two men or one man and *two* women is generally requisite."

The above divine commandments and codified articles of law are those actually in force. They speak clearly for themselves and need no comment in the eyes of any reader familiar with law matters. It remains only to add here that, biased as they are towards the stronger sex, in their application to practical life, they are interpreted still more liberally in favor of the husband. But this important point forms a part of the whole question, and will be amply elucidated in the following pages.

It is universally known that the Mohammedan women throughout the East are forbidden to appear before men uncovered. When they have to go out they must be muffled from the head down to the ankles. To this end they wear a long loose cloak or robe, a sort of domino, of black, yellow, or pink color, which is called *fezedgé*. The face is covered with a veil, *yashmak*, the various colors and denseness of which is regulated by the taste and coquetry of the veiled woman. It is needless to remark that young and good-looking women have a predilection for light colors and transparent gauze, while elder and uglier faces evince their abhorrence to men by muffling themselves with veils of dark color and suffocating thickness. This custom is strictly enforced upon one and all women — among Africans the restriction is more lax, — it being regarded as a gross pollution to allow any stranger or heretic to see the uncovered face. "Let the believing women," commands the Koran (24, 3), "cast their veils over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments save to their husbands, their fathers, their sons, nephews, slaves, and children." But should a woman be overtaken unveiled, she quickly turns her back to the stranger, and draws her veil over her face with some exclamation of indignation or curse.

The veiling of the woman begins generally at the age of from six to nine, — according to her physical development — this age being considered the end of girlhood and beginning of puberty. It is the age in which girls are trained to the idea of marriage. At this age generally education and schooling cease, if Mussulman women can claim any education at all. For it cannot be contested that where woman's lifelong destiny is calculated to be confined strictly within the apartments of the house for the benefit of one ignorant man there the necessity or ambition for education is entirely

out of the question. It is, then, but natural that Mohammedan women have no idea whatever of the most elementary knowledge of reading and writing. The only exception to this rule of gross ignorance is confined to a very limited number of so-called fashionable families living at Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, Cairo, and some other cities pervaded by European civilization. Here and there also you may, while wandering through some street, hear a few bad notes of a polka played on the piano. But real education intended to enlighten the mind, develop and cultivate the various physical, intellectual, æsthetic, and moral or religious faculties, is out of question. The only end of woman in this world is to marry. Under these considerations, girls are from their infancy in their cradle rocked to sleep by their mothers with lullabies of future husbands, handsome, courageous, noble, and wealthy. This is the supreme and only destiny of woman. Marriage, then, is the cardinal and central point round which is revolving every thought and action of woman. Accordingly, matrimony is the earlier the better.

The regular age for this supreme felicity is from twelve to fifteen, but wealth and physical attractions naturally call for the earlier limit. Generally speaking, the parents are glad, and even proud, if they have the chance of betrothing their daughters at five or six, or at any rate, before twelve, the age of puberty and maturity. For at that age women must be put, — so the Mohammedan proverb says — “either under the husband or under the earth,” that is, she must either marry or die.

The absence of any education reduces, of course, the requisites to marriage to a very limited number. No intellectual gifts or moral and social accomplishments are essential or valued. A girl is perfectly marriageable if she is either pretty or wealthy. Should she be blessed with both, then she possesses all requisites to the perfection; she is the best match in the district, and is sure to cut out her rivals. Beauty, tender youth, and wealth are also the only points which, in the eyes of a suitor, come into consideration. The age is easily found out through private sources. The financial condition is also easily ascertained, the personal property and wealth in the East consisting entirely of real estates which are known to the neighbors. For investments in banks or shares are almost unknown in those

countries. There remains the question of physical attractions. Is she pretty? Is she dark, fair, slender, stout, tall, short? These points are the most embarrassing for the wooer. He never saw her, or at least since she was a little child. She may have seen him passing in the street through her veil or lattice window, but he has not the remotest idea of her looks. In this vexatious uncertainty he is obliged to have recourse to a female agent. The Christian woman abhors the Moslem too much, and does not adapt herself to such a mission. Far handier and readier is the Jewess. He therefore applies to a qualified woman of that faith, and requests her to make her way, by some pretext, into the house of his unknown nominee, and examine her thoroughly. The ambassadress carries out her mission with Jewish intelligence and skilful diplomacy. She knows beforehand that her reward will be in proportion to the satisfaction which her information will give to her constituent. On her return, then, she does not fail to draw the most enticing portrait of the nominee, whom for convenience's sake I propose to call Aliyé: a moon of beauty; eyes enchanting and magic, teeth like pearls; face full of roses, skin like milk; fingers like crystals; the eyebrows like two rainbows; in short a fairy. In his enchantment the Osmanli — say Nouri Effendi — thanks Allah and the prophet, and pours into the hands of the good messenger a handful of *medjidiés* (dollars). On the next day he sends his heart's dear baskets filled with various presents, a sort of *corbeille de mariage*.

This is the course usually followed in the arrangement of a Mohammedan betrothal. It is simple, indeed, but does not always prove reliable and satisfactory. To obviate any misadventure or deception another more reliable and honest agent is selected: the very mother or sister of the wooer. This trusty *alter ego* soon succeeds in entering into connection with the harem of the nominee Aliyé. She institutes a careful examination and reports her impressions and observations faithfully and circumstantially. If they are to the satisfaction of the son or brother — as the case may be — the above *corbeille de mariage* is despatched. But in the majority of cases, the managing agent, say the mother, in her anxiety to serve the interests of her beloved son, goes far beyond the investigations referred to. She arranges a party to a public (Turkish) bath. There she is to ascertain whether her future

daughter-in-law has any constitutional defects. It is not expressed, of course, what the bath party means. When the day appointed for it has come, both parties meet, supplied with dainty dishes, greasy pastries, and sweetmeats of various description. As a matter of course, great attention is paid also to the dresses. For it must be noted here that Turkish women, though very fond of dresses, have no other place to display luxury excepting their secluded apartments and public baths.

As soon as the two parties meet in the bath there is a series of endless compliments of the most sentimental and poetical nature. In this the Mussulman excels all other nations of the globe. The company take seats cross-legged on divans, and coffee, sherbet, cigarettes, long pipes (*chiboues*) and *nargilehs* (waterpipes) are served around. Amidst the clouds of smoke, the eager gossip across and simultaneously, and the shrieking laughter, the future mother-in-law manages adroitly to seat herself by the nominee *Aliyé*, and pushes her to talk. Unconscious of the object, the poor child undergoes a skilful examination. Her features, character, and other qualities are sharply scrutinized. When this part of the feast is over, the company undress and enter into the hot apartments of the bath. During the whole time of this and the next proceedings the future mother-in-law never quits *Aliyé*. She avails herself of every movement and turn of the unconscious girl to make thorough constitutional and æsthetical investigations. It is hardly necessary to emphasize here that, should the nominee be wanting in any constitutional perfection or requisite to healthy and consummate womanhood, the ever-watchful Gorgon would detect the blemish and report accordingly.

The bathing is followed by the banquet. The company take their seats, always cross-legged, on rugs spread round a large circular salver which is supported by a low stool and represents the table. The feast may last for several hours, during which the mother-in-law never forgets her mission. She has plenty of occasion to complete her studies of the nominee. At length the party breaks up with mutual compliments and assurances of delight, and the delegated mother of the suitor hastens home to meet her son and husband. She gives them such a detailed report as only a female and a mother can give. If it be satisfactory—a momentous

point influenced greatly by the fancy taken by the delegate — the matter is decided definitely, and Nouri's mother is instructed to take the next necessary steps. She lets a couple of days pass, and then pays a visit to the mother of Aliyé. There she discloses her object. The mother of the girl is naturally surprised! However, she promises to refer the matter to her lord and husband, and give a reply at the earliest opportunity. In returning the visit Aliyé's mother bears the answer of her husband. If it be to the satisfaction of both parties, the two mothers arrange a meeting of their husbands with a view to settle all further questions, and fix the time of the wedding. The point of dower does not come into serious consideration. At least in the majority of cases which comprise all peasantry, no special agreement is required or entered upon with regard to the dower, the share of property devolving upon the bride or the bridegroom being, as above referred to, already known to each party. However, in many cases, especially among citizens of towns, the desirability of a formal contract is expressed and the contracting parties, or rather their fathers or guardians, settle the matter before the magistrate (*cadi*).

The nature and intent of a Mohammedan marriage contract requires but little elucidation. We have seen that marriage among Mohammedans is not a consensual contract of the interested parties, but an agreement entered upon by their fathers acting in behalf of their children. First comes the more or less formal point regarding the impediments which may arise out of consanguinity or relation between the parties. For "ye are forbidden," says the Koran, "to marry your mothers, your daughters, your sister, and your aunts, both on the father's and on the mother's side; your brother's daughters, and your sister's daughters; your mothers who have given you suck, and your foster-sisters; your wives' mothers; your daughters-in-law born by your wives with whom ye have cohabited."

The second point regards the dower to be fixed on the part of the bridegroom to the bride. This provision is a curious institution. Looked at in the abstract, it seems to point to a gallant and generous feeling towards woman, a custom which would put to shame the speculating and mercenary spirit of matrimony in Christian civilized countries. But by closer examination of the motive and intent of the

usage, the delicacy and gallantry revolves to flat barbarity. For the Mohammedan looks upon the wife as a living property and personal possession of the husband. Accordingly, she must be bought, and her price is that of an ordinary bargain. The inhumanity of the principle is aggravated by the ridiculous meanness of the price. We have seen that the minimum dower — or rather "hire," as the Koran distinctly puts it — which the law apportions to the wife, is ten diens (6s. 8d. or \$1.70). It is true that the maximum being left open, the wife has a free play to secure her interests and check the polygamous cupidity of the husband. But it is equally true that the husband, without repudiating his wife officially and solemnly, may, by outrageous abuse and rough treatment, make her willing to forfeit the whole of her dower rather than live with a brutal husband. The law of the Koran makes woman the helpless victim of her husband's lust and tyranny. These and other considerations paralyze the binding character and force of any contract or solemn engagement. Under these circumstances the signature of such an instrument is practically a mere formality rendered advisable on the plea of being agreeable to the commandments of the prophet, whose auspicious blessing is more than ever needed on the occasion. It is this reason which also renders it advisable for the contracting parties not to deviate enormously from the prescribed amount of ten diens (6s. 8d. or \$1.70). Nevertheless, in order to flatter the pride of the bride, or for the sake of solemnity and gravity of the occasion, an old custom prevails in many Turkish provinces to transmute the amount of the ten diens of the Koran into *aspers*. Now, as forty aspers are equal to one cent, the amount of \$1.70 thus swells up to the big sounding sum of many thousands.

Immediately after the happy agreement to the match the bridegroom, Nouri, sends pompously the *corbeille de mariage* to his bride Aliyé. This *corbeille* consists of baskets filled partly with flowers, fruits, sweetmeats, and confectionery, partly with dresses, jewelry, and shoes, and the regular addition of a looking-glass is *de rigueur*. The bridegroom receives in return linen and towels embroidered in gold and silver to be used as turbans, with the addition of an embroidered silk pouch for tobacco. The other members of the two families also interchange presents.

During the subsequent period of the betrothal which may

last for several years until the bride attains the age of marriage — twelve years — the bridegroom may call in the house of his father-in-law, but he never expects to see anybody but the male members of the family. He is received, of course, in the *selamlık*, or room isolated and intended for male visitors. But the principle of family life among Mohammedans has established the custom that men should meet always in some public place — mostly coffee-houses — and there receive each other. There they pay attention to one another by mutual treating with coffee, nargileh, loukoums (Turkish delight), sherbet, orgeat, almond milk, and the like.

Now, let us suppose that the wedding day has arrived. It is invariably Thursday, the eve of Friday, which is the Mohammedan Sunday. It is customary, particularly in country places, that the wedding festivities should last four days. They begin Monday — the third day of the Mohammedan week — and close Thursday evening, that night being regarded as the most propitious to the nuptials because of the conception of Mohammed. The festivities in either house are kept up by the men and women separately. They principally consist in banquets, the intervals being filled up with coffee, sherbet, confectionery, perfumes, especially orange-flower water — long pipes (*chiboues*), cigarettes, and nargilehs. A grave hilarity presides over these meetings which are enlivened by bands of musicians, jugglers, and story-tellers. Relatives and friends are invited to spend alternate days in the two houses. Each day is distinguished by a different ceremony. On Tuesday the bride's *trousseau* is carried in great state from her house to that of the bridegroom. It consists of dresses, house furniture (except chairs and sofas, which are not used among Mohammedans) and a large amount of kitchen utensils, all these appurtenances being incumbent upon the bride. Each single piece is carried separately and pompously by a special man, the most conspicuous display being made by the shiny and polished kitchen utensils. The longer this procession, the greater the satisfaction afforded to the pride of the bride and her family.

Wednesday is spent in the usual amusements and banquets, and in the afternoon the bride is taken to the bath. Thursday is the busiest and most solemn day. Accompanied by her mother, sisters, and servants, the bride leaves her paternal house for that of her husband. The relatives and guests of

both families are assembled at Nouri Effendi's, the men in the selamlık and court-yard, which is transformed into a feast locality, and the women in the haremlık. The bride is received with great attention and honor by her mother-in-law and her daughters, and on entering her new harem finds her *trousseau* properly arranged and conspicuously placed. She is dressed in silk or satin of the richest style. Her attire, as well as that of the guests, offers a glaring combination of the gayest and brightest colors. There are silk and satin serrees of sky blue, yellow, and rose colors, and the loose flowing trousers drawn in at the ankle, of the same materials, in amber and pink, with the picturesque jacket and vest beneath, of scarlet or crimson, all richly embroidered in gold and silver. Costly jewelry of rings, ear-rings, armlets, and bracelets of Eastern taste add to the gorgeous and picturesque attire. The bride wears above all the long bridal veil, and alternately seats herself in a conspicuous place, or moves solemnly up and down in the haremlık turned into a state apartment. She is attended by several pretty maidens who sing alternately the *epithalamia*.

The rejoicing, which is kept up till night-fall, terminates in a substantial supper by which hot pillau and other greasy meals are served. No spoons or forks nor wine or spirits are admitted. At the hour of the fifth prayer—one hour and a half after sunset—the bridegroom, after kissing the hand of his father, his uncles, and his elder brothers in the selamlık, approaches the private entrance to the harem, which by this time is deserted by all women excepting the bride and her mother. Two swords smeared with honey in token of sweet connubial life are crossed over his head at the lintel, while a prayer is read by some bystander. Suddenly a pomegranate—in token of fecundity—is smashed to pieces, and Nouri rushes into the haremlık, where Aliyé (with her mother in a distant corner) is awaiting him, seated on a divan, and covered with a veil. On seeing her husband for the first time she rises. He tries to take her hand, but she raises his and kisses it, in token of submission. He attempts, then, to raise the mysterious veil, but the unlucky old woman, who is still seated motionless in the corner, like a statue in its niche, interferes. The old woman, then, is thrust out after some feigned resistance, and the young wife appears for the first time before the delighted eyes of her

husband. He seats himself near her, offers her a cigarette, and exchanges a few words, the tenor and sweetness of which need not be specified here. It also depends on the mutual delight or disappointment of either. Meanwhile the crowd in the selamlık is becoming impatient at Nouri's long absence, and their tumultuous noise and cries compel him to leave his angel and return among the men to be teased by his friends and guests.*

This is the formal course generally followed at the celebration of Mohammedan marriage. As a matter of course social position and financial condition of the parties may allow or necessitate more or less display of luxury and splendor. Also age and multiplicity of wives simplify considerably the ceremony. But the main features of the marriage ceremonies and formalities are essentially those given in the preceding chapter.

The foregoing narrative illustrates clearly, I hope, what Mohammedan marriage is. It is entirely different from Christian matrimony. There is no previous acquaintance or intercommunication between bride and groom. No explanation whatever between the parties directly interested, either at or before the betrothal or wedding. Betrothed generally when still a child, the Mohammedan girl passes from her father's harem into that of a man whom she is told to recognize and serve as husband. The marriage is arranged and carried out without even her knowledge or assent. The bridal couple is not even present at the ceremony. The wedding receives no religious consecration. No official or binding character is attached to the contract, if any. In short, to use the very words of an eminent Mohammedan legal authority and apologist of the Mohammedan cause and religion, "marriage among Mohammedans needs no mollah, no sacred rite."

*This is the general proceeding of a Mohammedan marriage, as every native of Turkish countries may testify, and as I have personally witnessed it since my boyhood. For I may add that, excepting the bathing process, which nobody expects me reasonably to have watched, I have witnessed every stage of the marriage proceedings from the negotiations of the betrothal to the closing of the wedding ceremonies, both in the selamlık and harem. The very unveiling of the bride by the bridegroom in their nuptial apartment has not escaped my personal observation when I was in my early boyhood, the age of indiscretion. For I used to climb, in company with other naughty boys, the walls of country houses and peep in through the elevated loop-holes at the harem. I have a vivid recollection of the last wedding which I was allowed to witness as a boy. Having intermingled the whole of Thursday with the women and the bride, I managed in the evening to climb the wall from outside, and take a post at an elevated grated window of the nuptial room, which happened to have been left open by inadvertence. I kept hanging on the iron bars like a monkey until I had my guilty curiosity satisfied by gazing from the dark outside in at the bridal pair in their illuminated room when the sacred unveiling took place.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH. PREMONITIONS.

BY RICHARD HODGSON, LL. D.

IN THE ARENA for February and September, 1890, I endeavored to introduce the reader to some of the difficulties involved in the various explanations of "ghost stories," and I pointed out the necessity of our acquiring more knowledge concerning phantasms of the living before we could hope to explain the phantasms of the dead. As happens from time to time in all other branches of scientific investigation, certain problems have arisen for the solution of which I urged that what we especially need is "not speculation so much as a larger accumulation of well-authenticated experiences." Mr. Frederic W. H. Myers, in his timely article in THE ARENA for last September, has emphasized the same need from what seems at first sight to be an entirely different point of view, *viz.*, the desire to get our facts recognized by the scientific world in general, to effect a "wholesale perturbation of the scientific system." On further consideration, however, the reader will see that the conviction of a fact and the acceptance of a theory concerning it so frequently run together in the human mind, that the former is hard to accrue without the latter. Where the fact can find no lodgment under one of the old conceptions, a new conception must usually be framed before the fact can be fully recognized as such, and hence in part it comes about that strong testimony is neglected or rejected because there is no clear and complete natural classification into which the vouched-for incidents appear to fall. It is, indeed, I venture to think, highly probable that before many years have passed, the general theory of telepathy will be widely acknowledged by the scientific world. But even thus, large though the step may be, we are only at the beginning of our investigation. Telepathy in the mental universe is probably wider in its application than gravitation in the physical universe. Just as attraction, so-called, may exhibit different forms such as cohesive, magnetic, gravitative, varying differently accord-

ing to substance, distance, etc., so telepathy may prove to be a category which covers several widely different modes of mental intercommunication. What are the exact conditions requisite for telepathic transmissions, on the part of both agent and percipient? What, if any, are their physical analogues? Numerous important questions are propounded as to the *modus operandi* of telepathy, to which there are as yet no answers whatsoever. We shall doubtless find that the discovery of some definite conditions favoring telepathy, or even limiting its manifestations, will do more to render it acceptable to the ordinary scientific mind than volumes of spontaneous experiences, valuable as these may be.

But if we find important problems unsolved concerning the details of telepathic action in general, if we find numerous difficulties arising to confront the more special hypotheses conceivable which may be offered as explanations of the phantasms of the living or the dead, what shall be said of another class of psychical phenomena to which I now call attention, and which we have designated *premonitions*? In popular language this term is often applied to experiences where the percipient becomes aware of what is occurring, or has occurred, at a distance, before the news reaches him by ordinary means. His "awareness" may be of the vaguest sort, such as an emotional depression, or it may involve the mental picture or the externalized vision of the actual event. But such cases are properly grouped under Phantasms of the Living (see THE ARENA for September, 1890), and not under premonitions. When, for example, Mrs. Hadselle went to spend the afternoon and evening with some friends, and became impressed, just before tea, with a strange dread, followed by the conviction that her son was in danger, and when she, in consequence, insisted upon leaving for her home several miles away, and after an anxious search her son was found insensible in his bedroom, which was full of smoke from the wet wood which he had placed in the oven to dry, — her impression, which saved the boy's life, was not of the premonitory type. So also, when a well-known lady was stepping hastily in the twilight towards the elevator in an upper story of one of the Boston Back Bay hotels, and was checked suddenly by the figure of a man standing directly between herself and the entrance to the elevator, and she then perceived as the elevator ascended, that the door of the

well was open, and that there was no figure there, — her experience was not premonitory. Similarly again, when Engineer Seaver was driving his train in the darkness on the Illinois Central Railroad, on July 4, 1890, 2.30 A. M., with two hundred passengers on board, and he had a vision of a long piece of track with a "block cut square out of the track," a vision shortly afterwards followed by words which seemed to be whispered in his ear "My son, the bridge is gone," so that he applied his brakes, and slowed his train, and found, on inspecting the line ahead, that a bridge thirty-five feet long had been burned away, and there was "nothing left but the bare rail stretched across for thirty-five feet," — his experience was not a premonition. In all such cases it is obvious that knowledge of the future is not involved, however supernormal the knowledge of the present may be. Further, we do not regard as premonitions such experiences as impressions, from a dream or otherwise, that a letter will arrive from a certain person, if the letter was written, or even contemplated by the writer, before the time of the experience. I have some cases on record where a lady, who had frequent experiences of this kind, took the trouble for some time, on behalf of our investigations, to write down her impressions and send them to a friend immediately, and before verification, acquainting this friend afterwards with the arrival of the expected letters. These experiences again were not premonitory, but probably telepathic from the writers of the letters. The same is of course true, *mutatis mutandis*, as regards the anticipated coming of persons, etc., who may already be on the way or intending to make the visit. Premonition, then, is not a supernormal knowledge of the present or past, even if, supplemented by ordinary human inference as to the future, it takes on the form of reference to a future event. It implies rather a supernormal awareness of the future itself. The following narrative will serve as an illustration of my meaning, though I need hardly say that I do not make any claim for its being more than a mere coincidence. It was signed by the three ladies concerned, one of whom is well known to me.

July 27, 1891.

On the night of Wednesday, July 15, 1891, Miss C — dreamed of finding various small coins, and also of picking up something glittering, a silver thimble, she thought, with three initials on it.

On the morning of Thursday, July 16, she mentioned the dream at the breakfast table, saying that she thought one of the three initials was "H," she could not distinctly remember the others. My initials being H. P. K., I jokingly said, "The initials were probably H. P. K., I think that thimble must belong to me." Miss C—— also spoke of a large rough gate which she saw in her dream, and over which she saw a small strip of sky. The next morning (Friday, July 17) I was working out-of-doors, raking near the barn, and after about an hour's work I found that I had lost from my belt ribbon a small, old fashioned pearl pin in a heavy gold setting. I despaired of finding it again, owing to the length of time I had been working, the number of places visited, and the working out-of-doors.

Some of the young girls in the house began to search for the pin, however; and one of them, named Jennie, went with Miss C—— under the barn, i. e., into the space between the ground and the first floor of the barn (which is built upon the side of a hill), thinking to, perhaps, find the pin there among some rubbish that I had pushed from outside through a narrow opening between the stonework of the barn's foundation, and the woodwork of its wall. The sight of the rough stonework of the foundation with the strip of daylight above, between it and the woodwork, recalled to Miss C—— her dream, which she mentioned to Jennie, who, thereupon, picked along the narrow ledges of jutting stone inside the wall with a nail, and on one of them found the pin lodged.

Now the above story, as it stands, suggests the premonitory type, but if the occurrences had been different, and Miss C—— had dreamt on the Friday night that she went under the barn and found the pin on the jutting stone, and if on the following day she made a search there and found it, the experience might have involved some clairvoyance of the present, but it would not be classed as premonition.

Perhaps the reader will now inquire, Are there such things as premonitions in the sense above indicated? My reply is, I do not know. We have many experiences docketed in this class, provisionally. And unquestionably, I think, some of these occurred substantially as narrated. But how are we to prove that these were not chance coincidences? How can we convince ourselves that of the myriad premonitory waking impressions or dreams that have been experienced by the witnesses, so many have proved veridical that we must assume some causal relation between the knowledge involved in the dream or impression, and the actual subse-

quent event? What is the nature of this causal relation? Is there some far-seeing superconscious self, pertaining to each one of us, that occasionally vouchsafes a glimpse of the future to the ordinary laden human consciousness? Does some "departed friend," who has attained new heights of knowledge and of inference in a more exalted life than ours, stoop down to warn us of a danger that we, in our blindness, cannot see? Or is there some yet higher invisible guide who lifts the veil of the future from our eyes for a moment, and leaves us with a wondering sense of the mysteries that encompass us, a dim conjecture that this mortal estate of ours is but a shadow of the glory that lies before us? Is there a realm where time is not, and a perception where past, and present, and future are as one? Alas! We begin to cheat ourselves with words; we have met with an extreme form of the difficulty to which I have drawn attention in the first part of this article, viz., the difficulty of formulating any precise theory. And for this reason much more evidence will undoubtedly be needed for the proof of premonitions than we have already acquired for the proof of telepathy. But as Mrs. Sidgwick pointed out in 1888, in her article on premonitions (Proceedings, S. P. R., Part XIII.), the evidence for their reality is far inferior to that for telepathy, and she gives the following figures:—

In *Phantasms of the Living*, excluding the Supplement, there are 359 cases of spontaneous telepathy, of which about 18 per cent. are dreams. These 359 cases are all at first-hand, and are selected from a much larger number as the best of their various classes. I have selected for this paper some 38 first-hand cases of premonitions, of which 24 are dreams. But as I do not wish to lay stress on my own selection, let us take the whole of the first-hand cases, good, bad, and indifferent. These amount to 240, or about two thirds only of the number of *selected* cases of spontaneous telepathy, and of these 240 about 66 per cent. are dreams.

And although since Mrs. Sidgwick wrote we have received some very striking and detailed cases of "Premonitions," there is still need of a much larger number, and especially of recent and documentary cases, before their occurrence as involving causal relation between the experience and the event can be regarded as absolutely established, and I must again emphasize the fact that perhaps the chief obstacle to

their acceptance will be that they appear unintelligible. So long as we can say nothing more about them than that they "fall out of the sky," as, to use an old instance, this was all that could once be said of meteoric stones, the accounts of them will be disputed and denied; but their comings may one day be explained as part of an orderly system, and be clearly exhibited as manifestations, even if exceptional, of the fundamental forces that keep the universe together. This achievement indeed seems yet remote, and at the present time, if we look for light on this question to the analysis of the experiences themselves, we find once more that our conclusions must depend in part upon our progress in other branches of our research. Take, for example, the following cases. The first case I received from Mrs. W—— in March of this year:—

In October, of 1880, I left my home in St. Louis, going to New York City, to be with my daughter, Mrs. C——, during her expected accouchement. Doctor R——, an old, well-known M. D., was the family physician. His office, as well as that of Mr. C——, was far down town, while the family resided on ——. It was arranged with Doctor R—— that he should come at once when called. The nurse was engaged, and everything put in order, so that there might be no delay or confusion.

I think that on Saturday, the 22d of the month of January following, a heavy storm of snow and sleet prevailed over the region of New York, so that telegraph lines were weighted down with sleet, and broken to such an extent in New York City that for a time there was a break in the service.

On Friday night I dreamed that my daughter's labor came on; that owing to some cause not clearly defined, we failed to get word to Mr. C——, who was to bring the doctor; that we sent for the nurse, who came; that as the hours passed, and neither Mr. C—— nor the doctor came, we both grew frightened; that at last I heard Mr. C—— on the stairs, and cried to him, "Oh, Chan, for heaven's sake get a doctor! Ada may be confined at any moment." That he rushed away, and I returned to the bedside of my daughter, who was in agony of mind and body; that suddenly I seemed to know what to do; that I delivered her, attended to her and the child, and that shortly afterwards Mr. C—— came, bringing a tall, young doctor, having brown eyes, dark hair, ruddy, brunette complexion, and dressed in black coat, gray trousers, and gray vest, and wearing a bright blue cravat, picked out with coral sprigs. The cravat attracted my attention particularly. The young doctor pronounced Mrs. C—— properly

attended to and left. Then after awhile Doctor R—— came, saying that he had been away and could not get back, but that everything relating to Mrs. C—— was all right.

In the morning at breakfast I related my dream to Mr. C—— and my daughter, but none of us attached any importance to it. But as the days passed the dream forced itself upon me so persistently, that on Monday I said to Mr. C——: "I wish you could arrange some way for us to get word to you quickly. For with the telegraph lines down what can we do in case Ada should be taken sick and you away?" Mr. C—— smiled and said: "I guess you are worried over that dream, but to satisfy you, I will write a telegram, and leave it with instructions at the district office. If the lines are not in order, they will send a boy to me."

I have forgotten to say that Mr. C——, on Saturday, told a friend, Mr. B——, of my dream; that in the evening Mr. B—— called, and jestingly spoke of the dream; that on the afternoon of Saturday Mrs. B—— and a Miss E—— called, and my daughter related the dream to them. On Tuesday, between nine and ten o'clock, my daughter was taken with labor. Immediately that we knew her condition, I sent the maid with the telegram to the district office, and for the nurse who arrived a half hour or so before the child was born. As the time passed and it became apparent that the services of an accoucheur might be needed at any moment, both my daughter and I were greatly frightened, for I had no knowledge whatever of how to proceed, as in my dream, so I ran to the window to see if Mr. C—— and the doctor might be in sight, then back to my daughter. At last I heard Mr. C—— on the stairs and cried to him to bring some doctor quickly, as Ada was on the point of being confined. Mr. C—— rushed off and I returned to my daughter. She looked at me in terror, and said, "Oh, what shall we do?" Then came what I shall be glad to have explained. In a moment all sense of claim left me, and all sense of sympathy beyond what a very cool and experienced doctor might feel. I heard myself saying in a peremptory fashion, "Ada, don't be afraid, I know just what to do, all will go well." She looked at me in a surprised way and replied: "If you are not afraid, I won't be." The nurse was panic-stricken, and ran from the room. I went after her in a manner foreign to me, directed her how to assist me — I do not deem it proper or necessary to go into details — suffice it to say, that I succeeded perfectly, although there were complications which might have resulted seriously. Mr. C—— went to seven doctors' offices before he found one. When at last he came, bringing a young doctor. The nurse was dressing the baby. My daughter was resting quietly and I sat in a corner of the room, feeling a dazed sensation and wondering if I were going to faint. In a few minutes I recovered myself, and

walked to my daughter's bedside, where the young M. D. was making an examination to see if all was right. When he turned around, Mr. C—— introduced us (I think his name was White). I was surprised to find that the gentleman had a very familiar look, and I said, "Why, doctor, we have met before, but I do not recall where." He smiled and asked, "Do you reside in New York?" "No, I live in St. Louis; have you ever been there?" "Yes, about two months ago, I passed through St. Louis." "And I," I said, "have been in New York for over three months, and yet I know I have met you before, but I do not recall where." At this moment, my daughter plucked at my dress, and whispered, "Look at the doctor's cravat." In a moment I knew he was the man whom I saw in my dream, and then realized that all the occurrences of the past six hours were a complete fulfilment of the dream, which only needed Dr. R——'s visit to finish it. The doctor's dress was exactly as I had seen it in the dream. Dr. R—— came in about two hours. He had been called to Brooklyn, and the ice was running so heavily that the boat was delayed. He was very much surprised to learn that I had acted as accoucheur, and still more so as some complications in the case called for the services of an experienced person. When he came the next day he questioned me closely, and I felt that he doubted my statement. I had had no previous experience, and at my daughter's request, I told him of my dream, and that what I considered one of the strangest features of the matter was that, on my honor, the dream had not once occurred to me from the beginning of my daughter's labor, until she called my attention to the doctor's cravat.

Doctor R—— desired me to write an account of the whole matter, and I promised to do so, but delayed it, and never did it. I have endeavored to have my statement of the matter corroborated, but find that Dr. R—— is dead. Miss E—— is also dead. My son-in-law, for reasons which he deems sufficient, does not wish his or my daughter's name used. Mr. and Mrs. B—— I know but slightly, and do not like to make the request of them, which they might not like to refuse, and then they may have forgotten the matter.

I am much too earnest a seeker for a solution of the question at the beginning of my statement to allow myself to exaggerate or mistake. I have condensed as much as possible my statement. The full particulars would be too lengthy. If my information was not from some foreseeing intelligence, where did it come from?

On further inquiry, I ascertained from Mrs. W—— that Mr. C—— has forgotten the circumstances, but Mrs. C——

writes: "I have read my mother's written statement of the dream which she had, previous to the birth of my little boy, and, in so far as I remember, it is quite correct."

The nurse also has made the following statement:—

I went from St. Louis to New York in 1881, as nurse maid to Mrs. C——'s little girl. I lived with Mrs. C—— when the little boy was born. I was a little over fourteen years old when the baby was born. I do not think I was told of Mrs. W——'s dream, but after the baby was born, I was told to bring the little girl into the room. A strange doctor was just leaving. Mrs. C—— said to Mr. C——, "Did you notice the doctor's necktie?" Mr. C—— said "No." Then Mrs. C—— said, "Why, I know him by mamma's description as the doctor she saw in her dream." I heard a good deal of talk about the dream, but I was so young I did not pay enough attention to what was said to remember much about it.

I am not discussing these experiences just now from a teleological point of view, but some of my readers may be disposed to think that Mrs. W—— was vouchsafed a vision from a "higher source" in order to increase her hope and confidence in the emergency before her. If so, it would seem curious that the vision should have so singularly failed of its purpose, since Mrs. W—— never thought of it at the time until the crisis was over.

The next case comes from Mrs. G. H. Hare, who has had many psychical experiences, and who, fortunately, has been in the habit of recording her impressions in a diary. The following is an extract from my account of a personal interview with her last year:—

She said that she was living in 1866 at Brentwood, L. I. Her mother was living at Stone Mills, N. Y. She was sitting in the window wondering whether she would ever see her mother again, and she heard a voice, which she did not recognize as that of any person known to her, but which she had heard previously at various times, giving her warnings, etc. The voice said, "Your mother will live seven years, and Mr. Pearsall will never again be a citizen of this place, and you yourself will live twenty-nine years." In explanation Mrs. Hare added: "I was nursing a child at the time, but I went immediately and noted the statement.

"Mr. Pearsall owned a good deal of property in the village of Brentwood, and was in Europe at the time. He returned to America soon afterwards, but stopped in New York while a resi-

dence was in the course of erection for him at Brentwood. He took cold in New York and died there.

"In 1873 mother came to L. I. to visit me. She died, after being ill some time, on August 30 of that year. When she became ill I remembered the fact of the prophesy, but did not remember the exact dates, and I did not get time to look it up in my diaries until after her death. I then found that the prophecy was given to me on September 1, 1866."

I afterwards received the copy of a cutting from the *Southside Observer*, published at Rockville Centre, Long Island, N. Y., Sept. 2, 1873, which reads as follows:—

"Born into spirit life Aug. 30, at the residence of Mr. M. H. Hare, Rockville Centre, Mrs. R. P. Howard, of Plessis, Jefferson Co., N. Y. Aged seventy-six years, nine months, one day," and the following copies from Mrs. Hare's diary:—

Brentwood, Long Island, N. Y.

Sept. 1, 1866. A voice which talks to my inner senses said my mother would live seven years, I twenty-nine, and that Mr. Pearsall would never again return to this place as a resident.

Rockville Centre, L. I., N. Y.

Aug. 22, 1873. My mother was taken quite sick.

Aug. 29. She was much better to-day to appearance.

Aug. 30. Grew worse toward morning, and died fifteen minutes before six p. m., without a struggle or a groan, closing her eyes and mouth, and assuming a smile as she drew her last breath.

Mr. F. A. Nims, a member of our society, and a lawyer of Muskegon, Mich., where Mrs. Hare was living at the time of my interview, wrote to me in July, 1890: "I have verified the extracts from Mrs. Hare's journals by my own inspection of the original entries. They are authentic in every respect." It will be observed that the time for the fulfilment of the third part of the prophecy, that concerning the death of Mrs. H— herself, has not yet come, nor would its fulfilment be by any means so remarkable as that of the earlier portion of the prophecy, owing to the tendency of a prophecy concerning one's own death to bring about its own fulfilment. Should the death, however, occur by accident, this part of the prophecy would be more remarkable. Not less striking as a prevision was the following experience, accounts of which I obtained from Mr. G. B. F., and Mrs. Hare, though the evidence is not documentary. I took down the following statement from Mr. G. B. F.,

and it was revised by him on July 24, 1890, and affirmed to be "substantially correct."

My father, Mr. B. F——, became mediumistic under the direction of Andrew Jackson Davis. Later on in his life he was very uncertain in his actions, and caused a great deal of trouble to his family. He once prosecuted me for \$1,000, about the year 1878. I consulted a clairvoyant about the matter in July, and asked her, "What will be the end of this?" Her name was Mrs. G. H. Hare. She had a vision of three men in a light bob sleigh; it was at night-time, the snow was on the ground, a coffin was in the sleigh. They drove past my brother-in-law's house, which was brightly lighted with lamps in the windows.

On the following January I received a card from my sister, stating that my father had been seized with smallpox, and on the morning afterwards I received the news of his death. Owing to some regulations by the Board of Health no persons were allowed to attend the funeral except special officers, who had had the disease. The snow was on the ground at the time, and the funeral took place exactly as Mrs. Hare had described. Lamps were placed in the windows of my brother-in-law's house, to take the place, as it were, of their being present at the burial.

Mr. G. B. F. stated also that the death of his father did, in fact, put an end to the trouble which the action in question was causing. Mrs. Hare gave me a similar account of her vision, and said that she was living at the time in Blaine, Mich., but seemed to be transferred mentally to Frankfort, Mich., where the burial took place.

Now there is no doubt but that Mrs. W—— and Mrs. Hare are disposed to regard their premonitory experiences as emanating from an intelligence higher than their own, and entirely independent of it. I assuredly do not deny this, but wish to point out that at least one other hypothesis is not altogether excluded. In the now well-known case of the triple personality, Léonie, Leontine, and Leonore, to which I referred in a previous article, the super-conscious self Leonore manifested herself to Leontine as a *voice*, which to Leontine appeared entirely independent, which she heard as from without, and which gave her wise counsel. Why then might not the voice which gave the warnings to Mrs. Hare be the manifestation of her super-conscious self? There are other cases also which directly suggest some such hypothesis. Take, for example, the experience of Mrs. Alger (Proceedings, S. P. R., Part XIII., p. 294),

who describes herself as seeing and feeling the "apparition" of her husband's mother, who, so far as Mr. and Mrs. Alger knew, was in good health. In the evening of the same day she heard a voice say, "Come both of you on the 22d," and four days after, on March 22d, Mr. Alger's mother died. We are thus driven again to the necessity of further ascertaining what more subtle powers may belong to "spirits while yet embodied." But in other cases the "foreseeing intelligence" not only seems to the witness to be different from his own, it distinctly purports to be that of another person once but no longer living in the flesh. Thus at a private "circle" at the house of Dr. S. T. Suddick, Cuba, Mo., on August 29, 1890, the announcement purported to come (by "table tippings") from a "departed spirit" that Chris Varis, of St. James, Mo., would die in forty days, i. e., on October 8. This prediction was much spoken about in Cuba during the forty days following the sitting, and I have many signatures in attestation of the fact. Mr. Varis had been sick seven or eight months, and "for the last three," according to the account of his physician, Doctor Headlee, "was expected to die at any time." Mr. Varis did actually die on October 8, although a week previous Doctor Headlee thought "the chances all were that he would not last twenty-four hours."

Even if we suppose then that premonitions occur, and are a token of some higher faculty than the normal conscious human being possesses, there yet remain intricate inquiries to be answered before we can determine in each case the bare origin of the experience, not to speak of knowing the conditions of some "transcendent" world where premonitory perceptions are possible. Perhaps, after all, the most mysterious of premonitions may turn out, as we proceed, to be explicable by a little more knowledge, only a slightly more advanced phase of existence than the ordinary conscious mortal now enjoys. But I shall not attempt to prophesy, and to say whether along the lines of hypnotic experiment, or by researches into so-called "spiritualistic" phenomena, we are likely to find our highest illumination. Concerning some striking experiences which have recently come to hand in this last mentioned branch of our investigation I hoped to have said a few words here. But my space is more than exhausted, and these must be reserved for a future article.

LOUISIANA AND THE LEVEES.

BY LIONEL A. SHELDON.

THE levee question is of paramount interest to the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Having served in Louisiana and along the Mississippi River in the Union Army during the late war, and resided in the city of New Orleans continuously fourteen years commencing at the close of the war, six of which I had the honor to represent the second district of that State in Congress, I had opportunities to acquire knowledge of conditions there. Later, for two years, in connection with a co-receiver I operated the Texas and Pacific Railway which runs through a section of that State exposed to overflow from the Mississippi and Atchafalaya Rivers for a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. These experiences enable me to speak more fully of that State than of the others.

The country has a general knowledge of the character of the lower Mississippi Valley, and of the destruction that follows when the waters are not restrained and kept within the channels of the rivers and bayous. How to prevent overflow has been under investigation since the earliest occupation of that section by civilized people. It is under consideration now, and the problems are engineering and financial. The method of accomplishing the desired result is not now so much the vexed question as formerly, but the financial feature is the troublesome one.

The simplest and most feasible plan for preventing inundation, and one which most readily suggests itself to the mind, is the construction of embankments or levees. This plan was adopted by the first settlers, and has ever since prevailed. The French and Spanish governments accepted it as the best, for they made concessions of lands with narrow frontages on the rivers and bayous that the cost of building and maintaining levees might be widely distributed, and therefore not so heavy that individuals could not bear it. The laws of Louisiana recognized this policy till the close of

the War of the Rebellion. They required the front proprietors to build and maintain levees, at their own expense, and in case of failure the parochial authorities were empowered and required to do the work, and the cost was made a first lien or privilege under which the lands could be sold to reimburse the authorities. During high-water, levees must be watched and materials kept constantly at hand to strengthen weak places and stop any break that occurs. As there were large numbers of slaves on the plantations, an adequate force could at all times be concentrated at any threatened point. Consequently, levees were kept in good condition as a rule, and crevasses were not of frequent occurrence. The planters were generally in affluent circumstances, and expenditures ordinarily required did not distress them.

The situation was radically changed by the war. During four years the levees deteriorated through inevitable neglect, and in many cases they were cut and otherwise injured by the contending armies as matters of convenience, or as measures of war. When hostilities ceased the reparation required was equal at least to what would have been necessary from twenty years of ordinary impairment. The country had been devastated more or less, cultivation had been greatly restricted, general impoverishment prevailed, and labor was disorganized and demoralized. The old policy could not be maintained, and it became necessary that the responsibility and expense of rebuilding and maintaining the levees should be taken upon the shoulders of the State. Its resources were limited, as the people were in no condition to pay heavy taxes. The State authorities were not derelict but proceeded with as much vigor as could have been expected under the circumstances. The work was appalling and the sum required to make it complete was enormous. They could do little more than to repair breaks and deteriorations here and there. To protect all the lands exposed to inundation required the adoption and execution of a comprehensive plan, but the money was wanting.

From 1865 to 1890 Arkansas expended \$340,000 on her levees. Mississippi expended a little more than \$6,000,000, and Louisiana expended \$15,000,000, or an average of \$600,000 annually. Besides this, municipal governments, railroad corporations, and individuals expended largely of their private funds. There are no available statistics show-

ing the amounts of these expenditures, but it cannot be far out of the way to say that in Louisiana \$1,000,000 annually have been spent on the levees from all sources during the last twenty-five years. If all this money had been available at once it is probable that the lands exposed to inundation would have been reasonably protected. It is not heavy taxation alone that has kept the people of the State poor. The very conditions had an emasculating effect upon their energies. Deterioration of the levees goes on constantly, and the people have not felt safe in the occupation and cultivation of their lands, and hundreds of thousands of acres have been abandoned by their owners. Had it been otherwise, the productions of the State would have been immensely increased.

The debt of the State is \$12,000,000. That of New Orleans is \$19,000,000, and that city pays about two fifths of the State taxes. The schools are in a poor condition and totally inadequate to the public wants. The State is practically without public charitable institutions. This is not in accordance with the wishes of the people for they are as earnestly in favor of schools and charities as those of any part of the nation. If the money expended on the levees during the last twenty-five years could have been put to other uses it would have assured flourishing schools, adequate charitable institutions, and have gone far towards paying the debts of the State and city of New Orleans.

The situation has been aggravated during the last ten years by extreme high water. It has been phenomenal and of yearly occurrence. If the levees had been in as good condition as before the war, disasters would not have been prevented, but they would have been far less serious. The extreme elevation of the flood surface has not resulted from unusual rainfall, but from deforesting and increased drainage in the vast regions whose surplus waters are discharged into the sea through the Mississippi River. It is maintained by some that there will not be further elevation of the flood surface in future as it is supposed that deforesting and drainage have been carried to the utmost limit, but none pretend that it will be lowered if rainfall remains the same. Protective works must, therefore, be adapted to this new condition.

The ablest engineers of the nation for a third of a century

have made a study of methods for protecting that country against inundations and also for the improvement of the navigation of that "inland sea." Construction of reservoirs to receive and hold back the water in flood times has been fully considered and uniformly pronounced of little value at best, and impracticable from the enormous sums of money that would be required. The plan of creating additional outlets has been investigated and the opinion is well-nigh universal, that if executed, little benefit would result, and many experienced engineers think it would be positively hurtful as it would lessen the velocity of the current, and consequently its eroding power, and would disable the river from discharging into the sea as great a volume of water. The views of the engineers who have been in charge of the improvements under the auspices of the Mississippi River Commission substantially agree that, to improve navigation and protect against overflow it is necessary to do three things: (1) to secure substantial uniformity in width of channel by means of spurs or dikes at points where it is too wide; (2) to revet the banks where caving is liable to occur, and (3) to build levees of a height and strength sufficient to confine the water to the channel. Appropriations have been made by Congress for the expressed purpose of improving navigation and they have been expended mainly in building spurs and dikes, and in bank revetments; three million dollars, however, have been used in the three States in repairing levees under pressing circumstances, and a forced construction of the law.

The magnitude of the work is apparent from the estimates of the engineers who have made it a practical study for the last ten years. The cost of narrowing the channel in the manner before stated, and of reveting the banks from Cairo to the Gulf, is put at \$75,000,000. This does not include levee repairing or building. Some of the engineers are of the opinion if levees are made a part of the plan the cost of the other works will be reduced ten million dollars. They all concur that levees are absolutely required to prevent inundation, and most of them hold that they are essential in improving navigation, on the ground that crevasses lessen the velocity of the current which causes the precipitation of sediment and consequently the formation of bars. There have been no estimates which include the cost of building

levees on the Mississippi and its tributaries. One of the engineers in the service of the Mississippi River Commission has expressed the opinion that ten million dollars will repair the levees on the main river as far down as Red River, but it does not include new levees or raising the old ones. It is now the accepted plan that a complete system must embrace the three classes of work already described.

How much all this would cost if it were extended to tributaries has not been estimated so far as I am informed. That the sum would be very large is quite apparent. The people of the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi are most deeply interested, and unless the general government takes hold of the matter they must bear the burden, and that burden will fall most heavily upon those of Louisiana, because more work is required in that State than in either of the others and perhaps than in both. In that State levees are required for a distance of nearly a thousand miles on the Mississippi alone, and are needed on the Atchafalaya, the Black, the Ouchita, and Red Rivers, and on La Fourche and other bayous. The distance to be leveed on these outlets and tributaries has never been stated to my knowledge nor has the expense been estimated.

The vast and ramified interest to be promoted, and the onerous taxation which so great a work imposes upon the three States named have suggested an appeal to Congress to undertake it as a national work. The case has been forcibly presented. There are upwards of 23,000,000 acres of land exposed to overflow, from the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf, after deducting all that cannot be reclaimed to cultivation on account of lying in river beds and in swamps that cannot be drained. The productive power of these lands is not excelled in any part of the world, and by proper cultivation they will annually add many hundred million dollars to the national wealth and afford profitable employment to several hundred thousand people. Railroads traverse these lands in all directions, and are important links in great systems which extend to every part of the nation. Unless these lands are protected against overflow a barrier will exist for a distance of twelve hundred miles between the people on both sides of that great valley during several months of the year prohibiting intercourse and traffic. It would seem that protection to a section so vast in area, in productiveness,

in capacity to support a large population, and to make contributions to domestic and foreign commerce, ought to be regarded as a work of the highest national character, and that it is within the power of Congress to make the necessary appropriations on the ground of promoting the general welfare.

Though the facts and arguments are strong in support of the proposition to make it a national work, still there are formidable obstacles to overcome. The constitutional power is denied in many quarters, and the measure, on economic grounds, will be strenuously combated. No appropriation was made for the improvement of rivers and harbors until thirty-five years after the organization of the government under the Constitution. The power to appropriate money for such purposes was generally doubted and absolutely denied by many. In 1824, President Monroe argued the question in an elaborate special message to Congress, and attempted to demonstrate that the power is conferred in the provision which authorizes the raising of revenue "to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare," and that the last clause gave authority to undertake works of such kind which are of a national character. This position has been accepted as a constitutional principle, but wide differences have often appeared, and still exist, on the question of national character. There have been frequent veerings from restrictive to latitudinous views and *vice versa*, but on the whole there has been a gain to the side of liberality, and especially during the last quarter of a century. Public sentiment has become less local and sectional, and the idea more prevalent that a benefit bestowed upon a small part of the country is, indirectly at least, a benefit to the whole. The lands exposed to inundation are in private ownership in the main, and to build levees appears to be for their especial benefit, and this diverts the popular mind from a consideration of the general interests to be promoted. The proposition has already been assailed by newspapers of potential influence on the ground that benefits will result to the owners of these lands, and that it is a local measure merely. The subject has been pressed upon Congress for more than twenty years, and the legislation hearing upon it has gone only so far as to create a commission with power to expend appropriations to improve navigation. Such works as narrowing the channel and revetting the banks are treated as within

the rule of improving navigation, but building levees has not been so regarded, and it may not be for the reason that it also adds particular value to the lands of individuals, though levees are claimed, and seem to be essential in improving navigation as well as preventing inundation.

Limited appropriations will probably be made in future as in the past to be expended ostensibly in aid of navigation, but circumstances are unfavorable to the adoption of broader views. The public debt is yet considerable, expenditures for pensions are enormous, and they will not be materially reduced for many years. The government, backed by public sentiment, has entered upon the construction of a navy, such as will be able to cope with the most formidable navies of the world, and money is demanded for coast defences and public buildings in every part of the country. The demands upon the treasury are unprecedented in time of peace, and interested parties will combine to resist expenditures that will interfere with their projects. It will be difficult to secure the indorsement of the proposition to build the levees by any great political party, and if this were done its opponents would assail it before the country for extravagance. The measure is meritorious, and though involving an immense expense, in time the government may be induced to undertake the work.

The natural increase of our population is sufficient each year to create a State numerically larger than the average of those which now exist. The country is rapidly filling up, and want of room is already beginning to be felt. The gravest question which now confronts us is, how shall we give employment to our people? There is comparatively little cultivable land unoccupied, and that which is now practically valueless on account of having too much or not enough water must, at no distant day, be put into condition for settlement and cultivation. This cannot be done on an extensive scale through private enterprise without danger of creating overshadowing monopolies, and it cannot be done by the States without the imposition of crushing taxation upon the people. There is but one power able to build levees and supply water to the arid regions without imposing grievous burdens upon the people, and that power is the general government.

THE HILL BANKING SYSTEM.

BY G. W. WEIPPIERT.

AMONG the various plans suggested for the reformation and simplification of our national banking system, none appears to me more feasible than that originated by Mr. Thomas E. Hill, a Chicago capitalist and author, who has devoted many years of his life, and a liberal share of his income, to the advancement of mankind. The plan, instead of being chimerical, is based on conditions. It has been carefully investigated by many of the leaders of the Farmers' Alliance and kindred organizations, and has been accepted with considerable enthusiasm by the more conservative representatives of these societies. The western agricultural press has considered it favorably. Labor organizations have expressed themselves satisfied with it, and the mass of the people in the Western States are beginning to be interested in the subject. The Hill System is less complex than the postal banking system advocated by Mr. Sylvester Baxter in the September issue of *THE ARENA*. Its introduction would not revolutionize existing conditions, but it would gradually reduce the rate of interest, and make a scarcity of money impossible.

Believing that every intelligent man takes an interest in the finances of the country, and is interested in any plan whose object is the correction of existing abuses, I shall endeavor to give an outline of the Hill system.

The first plank demands absolute ownership and control of all banks by the government, and consequent prevention of bank failures. The money with which to do banking is to be obtained from the people. To induce people to bring into circulation the hundreds of millions now hoarded in safety deposit vaults and other hiding places, three per cent. interest is to be paid on long time deposits.

Three thousand bank depositories are to be established throughout the United States, from which money is to be loaned at four per cent.

Every post-office is to be made a receiving bank where money can be deposited, thus giving over sixty-five thousand banks of deposit.

The \$1,500,000,000 in sight, and the hundreds of millions, now hidden, which will come into the banks, will increase the government's banking capital to \$2,000,000,000.

Appropriating \$20,000 per year for the management of each bank will make the cost for the distribution of money \$60,000,000. Allowing three per cent. interest on \$2,000,000,000 will be \$60,000,000, hence the total annual expense to the government for the distribution of its funds and interest will be but \$120,000,000.

As all money loaned comes immediately back to the absolutely safe bank, it can be loaned over and over. If loaned up to \$5,000,000,000 at four per cent. the annual income will be \$200,000,000, a profit to the government of \$80,000,000 per year. If loaned over four times, up to \$8,000,000,000, charging only two per cent. interest to borrowers, the annual profit to the government would be \$40,000,000.

The Hill Banking System makes the people the owners of all banks, uses the people's money for banking, distributes interest among the common people, makes the hoarding of gold or silver useless, prevents bank panics, keeps every dollar in constant circulation, and renders unjust discrimination, whereby the poor in large cities, and settlers in the new States, though giving ample security, are compelled to pay exorbitant interest, impossible.

The bank officials, being employed by the government, and well paid, would be under strict control, and their books would be subjected to rigid inspection. Paid attorneys who now attend every session of the various State legislatures to keep up the rates of interest for the benefit of bankers and money-lenders would no longer offend the people.

As bankers make their profit by loaning money over and over, so the profit to the government by loaning at four per cent., when loaned to ten persons, would be forty per cent. Should but one per cent. be charged it would be ten per cent. interest to the government when borrowed by ten persons.

Not only would this system induce the great common people to save and deposit in the bank for the sake of getting interest, but their money being in the bank it would not be

so liable to be wasted in trivial expenditures; would not be lost, burned, or stolen. Check books so arranged that all debts could be paid by checks, even when away from home, might be issued, thus avoiding all danger from loss and robbery.

A low rate of interest will allow the western farmers to free themselves from debt while they save their homes; and the extra interest now going into the hands of money lenders will be expended by them in the building of new houses, barns, and the furnishing of their homes, thus starting many enterprises, which now lie dormant, into activity.

The proposed mutual savings banks, postal savings, and sub-treasury banks for farmers, are steps along the way. The Hill System includes all these, goes beyond them, and is, in fact, a great mutual savings bank for all, shutting off, as it does, private speculation and rascally manipulation of the people's money; stops bank failures, money panics, and depressed conditions whereby the rich get the opportunity to charge large interest, and buy property at a quarter of its value, becoming enormously rich themselves while they impoverish the people.

How, some will ask, can the government pay three per cent., and loan at three per cent.? The system here outlined proposes to pay interest to long-time depositors only. To business men and all those who have open accounts, no interest is paid. Thus, when one person deposits money not to be removed for a long time, more than one hundred times this amount will be deposited by business men who frequently borrow, paying interest on their loans while they receive no interest on their deposits. The system starts on a sound, conservative basis, borrows at three per cent., loans at four per cent., divides the profits with the people, and through a system of active accounts and many loans, will reduce the rates to an almost incredibly low per cent.

One of the chief advantages of the Hill plan is that it fits immediately into the present methods of doing business, creating no great change in existing financial arrangements, except a general lowering of interest, and a vastly wider distribution of money which will start many enterprises into activity, enabling money lenders to employ their means to as good advantage for themselves as the lending of money. The services of the bankers of to-day will be required in the

government banks, the miner will continue to delve for gold and silver, and coinage will go forward as now, making gold and silver money for the purposes of foreign exchange.

The fundamental ideas of the Hill Banking System, every reader will have divined by this time, are that labor of the head and hands produces all wealth; that, while the organizer, manager, and employer should be well paid for their services, the manual toiler should be protected from losing the wealth he has produced through the manipulation of individuals who handle the money of the country; that the money belongs to the people in proportion to their capacity for earning it, that the banks should be controlled by the people, in the interest of the people, and not by favored individuals, in competition with, and in opposition to, the people's interests; that the banks should not be manipulated by persons who are dishonest or those whose interest it is to have the rates of interest high that they may accumulate fortunes for themselves.

According to census returns, there are \$62,000,000,000 of wealth in the United States, which should have a corresponding amount of money, which is simply a representative of wealth. As our population numbers but little more than 62,000,000, there should stand to the credit of the wealth of this country \$62,000,000,000, which is \$1,000 per capita. The government could safely loan one dollar on every two dollars of actual wealth. Consequently there would be in the government banks the equivalent of \$31,000,000,000, giving a circulation of \$500 per capita, because under the Hill System nearly all the money of the country would be in the banks and, if necessary, could be loaned and reloaned up to that amount, giving us twenty times more money than we have now without making any fiat money or causing an inflation of values.

As might have been expected, the radical wing of the farmers' party has attacked Mr. Hill's proposition. Nothing short of unlimited coinage and sub-treasury schemes finds favor in their sight. The partisan press — both republican and democratic — has simply ignored the movement. But the thinking men of the farmers' and workingmen's movements have expressed themselves strongly in favor of the plan. Objections have been made against the clause suggesting a specified interest.

Mr. Hill, however, believes in uniting to the support of his banking system thoughtful men and women of every political belief, and defends his interest plank in the following words:—

“‘Low interest’ means a revolution in finance and every person having a dollar to loan would array himself in opposition to governmental banking, while the borrowing class would regard ‘low interest’ as being so indefinite as to make the system unworthy of support. Then, again, the insurance organizations of the country, which depend largely upon interest in the payment of their obligations, would regard ‘low interest’ as the bankrupting of their companies, and the forfeiting of all their policies. They would so announce and would frighten all their hundreds of thousands of patrons into opposing government banking on that account. The banking concerns of the country would laugh a wild cat ‘low interest’ scheme to scorn, and the metropolitan partisan press would ridicule it as a weak plan to get money for nothing, the whole plan being so indefinite and uncertain as to be worthy only the consideration of impracticable dreamers who never have accomplished anything and never will.”

The Hill Banking System, as outlined in this article, is so clearly defined that no plutocratic enemy of the people's welfare can misrepresent its meaning. Though apparently simple, it is the result of a very careful review and study of private banking for profit by a gentleman who has been extraordinarily successful in business, and is based upon history from the time when Christ drove the money changers from the temple in Jerusalem. The system adapts itself to human nature as it exists and fits.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF LAW.

BY HENRY WOOD.

"Of Law, there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power."

—RICHARD HOOKER, 1553-1600.

WHAT is the most important discovery of modern times? Some would answer, the art of printing, which in its present marvellous stage of progress scatters its winged pages "as thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks of Vallombrosa." Others would mention the wonderful utilization of steam, by the power of which the material forces of the world are a thousand times multiplied for the convenience and comfort of mankind. Still others would point to the unnumbered applications of electricity, the successive discoveries of which burst upon us almost as rapidly as its native flashes repeat themselves through the murky darkness of a summer evening thunder-storm. No; it is none of these. Of vaster moment than all these great achievements is the growing recognition of the fact that Law is universal.

What is Law? One eminent writer defines it as "an ascertained working sequence or constant order among the phenomena of Nature." Another calls it "the universal reign of a fixed order of things." Webster describes it as "any force, tendency, propension, or instinct, natural or acquired." Such definitions, though technically correct, are freighted with a cold, mechanical import which almost seems tinged with fatalism.

The theologian discourses upon Natural Law as a code of material legislation, infinite in detail, which once for all was put in force by the Deity, and then left to assert itself and punish its transgressors. Atheists and materialists, while admitting its orderly regularity within the physical domain, conceive it to be but the blind operation of inherent forces and tendencies.

Law is the uniform and orderly methods of the Immanent

God. Natural Law, which pervades the material, mental, and spiritual kingdoms, is God in manifestation. But a short time ago, and the most intelligent observers limited the province of law to the more apparent operations of external nature. It was the prevailing opinion that the movement of the earth and other planets through space, the ebb and flow of tides, the growth of trees and plants, and the obvious multiform operations of gravitation and cohesion, mainly or wholly composed the realm of unvariable tendencies and courses of phenomena. Scientists regarded everything immaterial as beyond the pale of law; theologians looked upon the spiritual domain as above law — or supernatural — and the world in general believed in special providences and in every-day suspensions and variations in trains of orderly sequence. The most intelligent and reverent thought of the present day concedes the omnipotence and omnipresence of Law. If it be but another name for God in orderly manifestation, any lesser concept would dishonor and limit Him by the implication that He was self-contradictory and lawless.

"That very law which moulds a tear
And bids it trickle from its source,
That law preserves the earth a sphere,
And guides the planets in their course."

There is no space, place, nor condition where there is exemption from Law's imperial dominion. The crystal dew-drop, the gentle zephyr, the shimmering wavelet, the fleecy cloud, and the resplendent sunset, all are just as they are by the mandate of Law. The graceful proportion and peculiar shade of every leaf, flower, plant, and tree are specified by Law. The rain, the cyclone, the earthquake, heat and cold, all scrupulously observe the Law. The fashion of the bird's wing and the insect's foot is regulated by Law. Plagues, pestilences, and famines come by Law. Orders of animals, birds, fishes, and reptiles appear upon the face of the earth, run their course, and disappear in accordance with the behests of Law.

But higher than these, man thinks, wills, imagines, and develops, mentally and spiritually, by Law. Institutions, governments, civilizations, and religions, all owe their histories, peculiar development, and success or failure to their relation to Law. Pain, joy, blessing, and all other kinds of

consciousness are ordained by Law. Even signs, wonders, and miracles are within its all-embracing boundaries, though the keen search of science may yet have failed to discover their footsteps.

Is, then, this all-comprehensive Law mechanical, merciless, tyrannical? Are we the helpless victims of a universal system, every detail of which is unavoidable and inevitable? No; not victims, but victors. While the discovery of the universality of Law is the greatest human accomplishment of the nineteenth century, there is a kindred truth which even its closing decade has not brought into general recognition. It is the universal beneficence of Law. Law is infinitely intelligent, perfect, and beneficent. It requires more than a superficial glance at the subject to reach such a conclusion. It is a legal part of Law that friction, pain, and penalty shall result from its violation. Penalty is the shock that we feel when we come in collision with it. Speaking exactly, Law itself cannot be broken. If we transgress it, the Law remains intact, but we are broken. It is best that it should be so. If Law could in any degree be bent to conform to our variable wishes or standards, the moral and physical universe would become chaos. Penalty is not calamitous and from without, but rather inherent, subjective, corrective, and, therefore, good.

Even human statutory penalties for the violation of imperfect legislative codes are only intended to be corrective and preventive, both for the criminal and society. The vindictive element which formerly manifested itself in punitive stripes and tortures—in the spirit of an eye for an eye—has largely passed away, except, perhaps, a lingering remnant in that form known as capital punishment.

Pain, whether physical, mental, or moral, is penalty, and comes from the bruises which we receive from avoidable collision with Law, but the Law itself sustains not the least fracture. It continues its smooth, harmonious course without deflection or interruption.

Pain appears like an armed and vindictive enemy, but it is really a friend in disguise. If we look beneath its mask and recognize and accept it, it takes us by the hand and gently leads us back from the thorny thicket through which we are plunging at the behest of passion, ignorance, or weakness, into the smooth path which Law has made perfect for

our resistless progress. Law is our judge, and pain the judgment. The cure for suffering is the recognition of its friendly mission, which makes it judgment accepted and confessed. When its beneficence is understood, and its errand interpreted, it becomes transformed into an angel of mercy. Paul's "thorn in the flesh" at length became a positive element of strength. If we struggle against penalty, and insist that it has been missent, or that it descends upon us from any outside source, it grows in intensity. Judgment denied enforces its stern demands. If passion, animalism, and selfishness were not warned off and held in check by prospective penalty, how soon the otherwise beautiful human economy would become a wreck.

A correspondence of more profound depth and intensity is found in man's higher nature. The severe judgments of sin, materialism, and moral debasement are pain and remorse, mental and physical. These monitors rise up and eloquently appeal to men to turn about and come into harmony with Law. Judgment unheeded and defied at length becomes hell. While the old theological monstrosity of a God-made hell is a myth, we actually go to work and kindle hells of our own. When man's nature becomes disordered and perverted, the Law kindly incites a hellish condition to goad him, so that he may turn, and not forever drift away from the harmony of God and Law, and thus destroy himself. Hell is a necessity. Its punitive flames are fanned by heavenly love and beneficent law, and not by the anger of a wrathful deity. The "consuming fire" purifies. If sin did not inevitably carry penalty on its back, men would keep on sinning forever. The greater the distance that the prodigal sons of God get away from Him in consciousness, the more intense the self-inflicted penalty which will finally turn their faces back towards the Father's house.

If Law be but a synonym for God in outward expression, it is obvious that its economy is altogether wholesome. The perfection of Law shows an infinite breadth of both wisdom and love. Said Marcus Aurelius:—

"All that is harmony for thee, O universe, is in harmony with me as well. Nothing that comes at the right time for thee is too early or too late for me. Everything is fruit to me that thy seasons bring, O nature. All things come of thee, have their being in thee, and return to thee."

It is only when our selfishness and ignorance foolishly antagonize the Law that to our distorted vision it seems baneful. Through dark and superstitious periods in the past, beneficent Law seemed so unfriendly that men erected it into a great evil Personality, and cringed in terror before it.

We may make Law our infinitely powerful ally. The man who utilizes steam or electricity in accordance with their own laws multiplies his physical accomplishment a thousand-fold. On the contrary, if he disregard their orderly methods and strive to impose his own notional theories upon them, he will receive the judgment of penalty. As we render ourselves plastic to the healthful persuasions of Natural Law, and parallel her lines instead of crossing them, we enlist the potentiality of the universe in our service. Disregarding her, we "kick against the pricks," but through her cordial co-operation we may accomplish "all things." "Hitch your wagon to a star!" God's wise moral economy provides that His human children, made in His own image, should utilize his methods; and an intelligent recognition of this great boon makes man princely in power and Godlike in character. No longer being a slave to Law, he can — through her instrumentality — not only be free himself, but also command divine prerogatives and privileges.

But it will be objected, and with great plausibility, that there are natural laws which are hostile to man, and utterly beyond his control, as, for instance, those that produce earthquakes, tornadoes, and tempests, which often sweep physical humanity out of existence. From a material standpoint, these are evil, but the truth lies deeper. What is their significance, and what their relations to mankind? Convulsions of nature are throes, or growing pains, in the progressive development of the physical universe. The phenomena of cataclysms and deluges are but incidents in the great onward sweep of cosmic evolution.

As to their relations to man, they cannot harm him at any point. True, they may blot out his physical expression, but in reality that is no intrinsic part of him. From the "body" standpoint, material dissolution is the king of evils, but man is not body, and the physical point of view is false. Only by a general degradation is our flesh-consciousness identified with the ego, and it is this mistake, and only

this, which clothes physical calamities with their terror. Reasoning from the basis of the real, evils can only be evils from their subjective moral quality. A stroke of lightning deprives a man of bodily expression. The *man* is intact. His means of material correspondence are removed, but morally he is no worse, and therefore no *evil* has befallen him. The change is in his relations and environment; not in himself, nor in his veritable I am, the consciousness of which forms his real being. That is a false and debased sense of *life* which makes it to consist of physical sensations. Such is animal life, but man is a "living soul." Only when we rise to the standpoint of the Real is our ordinary distorted view of that evolutionary step across an imaginary line called death, clarified and corrected. The term evil is only applicable to a condition of subjective absence of good. None but thorough materialists can deny the validity of these premises and deductions. The beneficence of Law is, therefore, not disproved by any apparent hostility of what are known as the forces of Nature.

Plagues and pestilences result from violations of Law, or rather from the lack of recognition of the power and utility of higher laws with which man can ally himself to overcome and banish such calamities. While Natural Law is never suspended, there are mental and spiritual laws which rule and neutralize the power of those which are below, and man's divine sonship gives him dominion in the subordinate realm. One raises a pebble from the ground. Thus the law of gravitation is overcome by the higher law of the human will, though not for an instant is the earth's attraction lessened or suspended. Tree-life is superior to gravitation, and therefore the sap rises and overcomes it.

Spiritual laws occupy the highest rank in beneficence and potentiality, and, therefore, are primary and supreme among causative forces. The intellectual economy is inferior in rank, being expressive and resultant. The physical realm is a still cruder manifestation of the immaterial forces which have their source and play in unseen productive agencies. We speak of the "laws of matter," but matter has no laws of its own. It merely expresses the quality and shaping of what is back of and superior to itself. It is but a printed page, which has no meaning except as interpreted from beneath the letter.

Man must discern the fact that he is a sharer and an heir of the Divine Nature, and that with such an heritage he may assert his birthright of authority over the economies around and below him. He learns to govern, mould, and give quality to his own nature, and also to grasp and utilize the forces of the spiritual world from whence the innumerable lines of Law radiate and gather their potentiality. This knowledge, of itself, constitutes such a wonderful acquisition that the Christ affirmed that he that is least in the kingdom of heaven — the understanding of spiritual law — is greater than John the Baptist, who represented prophecy and morality. Even the least in the domain of the Real is of far more value than great accomplishment of inferior quality.

Noting the universality and beneficence of Law, and the transcendent importance and potency of Spiritual Law, it may be profitable to trace a few of its innumerable applications, and also to look at its relations with Providence, prayer, and freedom of the will.

Providence is within the limits of Law, and there can be no special providences unless there be special and capricious laws. A providential event may be as beneficent — nay, more so — if it come in an orderly manner, than if it were the outcome of partiality or lawlessness. If it were possible to bend Law to our notional desires instead of conforming ourselves to its infinitely wise shaping, the motive for such a chaotic act must be supreme selfishness. Shall man presume to change the universal order to accommodate the distorted partiality of his baser self? Can he improve upon Infinite Wisdom?

Whenever man's consciousness rises from the selfish animality which darkens the basement of his being, and looks out through the spiritual altitude of his nature, he instinctively feels the kindness of established order, and knows that "all is good." Law is not only supremely powerful, but it is ever waiting to serve us.

In view of the immutability of Law, what is the province of prayer? Is not any petition that would strive to change the divine order superfluous? If God's economy is *already* perfect, is it not an implication upon His wisdom to beg for its revision? The strained use of the prayer of petition for special material favors is standing evidence of the selfish

materialism of humanity. If God be Infinite Love and Wisdom, and knows better what we need than we can know, how can we presume to counsel or enlighten Him? Can we ask even for needed spiritual blessing, expecting a change on His part in response? We misapprehend the nature of prayer. His Spirit is already omnipresent, awaiting our recognition, and how could it be more?

Is there, then, no place for prayer? Yes, for "prayer without ceasing." Prayer is communion, aspiration, oneness of spirit. It is soul-contact with the Parent Mind, the reception of the Immanent God into the every-day consciousness. In its loftiest form it is a living recognition that the Infinite Love has already bestowed every possible gift, so that there is absolutely nothing to ask for. But there is unbounded utility in true prayer on the human side, to bring such a stupendous fact into our consciousness. As by such aspiration we come into oneness with God, we command a thousand-fold more blessing through spiritual law than would be possible if we possessed infinite power to bend the divine will, linked with our fallible wisdom to determine the manner of bestowment.

In proportion as men feel themselves to be "sons of God," they can wield divine forces and legally make them ministries of blessing. Take a case of physical ailment, for the recovery of which there are two possible forms of prayer. One, that God in answer to petition would change on His part so as to send forth a special influx of healing power. Such a response would imply changeableness, improvement, and existing imperfection on the part of God which our importunity would correct. The second, recognition that Unchangeable Good has already done everything necessary, and that it remains for us to come so close to Him as to be able to bring the divine ideal into outward expression, through and in accord with Law. A knowledge that physical wholeness is natural — as the external manifestation of spiritual forces already at our disposal — would powerfully aid in bringing lawful and potential wholeness into actuality. As "sons of God" we may learn to command orderly supernal powers, and through them to make visible such complete demonstrations as shall show answers to prayer from a Deity who is "without variableness or shadow of turning." Every possible prayer for what is truly the best is eternally

answered, and the result is in readiness for us to bring into conscious manifestation. We need not beg good of a Father who is Infinite Love, but we must open our souls and quicken our spiritual vision to the perception of the infinitude of lawful gifts already our own. The grand mission of prayer is to bring us subjectively into harmony with God by the recognition of His presence in the soul. It is not a form of words, though it may be audibly expressed. In its essence it is loving intercourse with the Presence which besets our spirits "behind and before."

By infallible Law one grows into the likeness of his mental delineation of the Deity which he worships, for it forms his highest ideal of perfection. The more complete one's concept of God, the more divinely shaped will be his standards and attainments. To instruct or implore a God who is susceptible to change or improvement reflects its vacillation and imperfection upon the petitioner. The prayer of communion and aspiration unfolds the divine selfhood, and reveals the road to the utilization of Law, and the apprehension of truth, that through them men may acquire dominion which is princely in its richness. Such spiritual wealth is the natural heritage of "sons."

The universal cosmos, visible and invisible, has a rhythm, to discover the harmonious vibrations of which is man's high privilege and prerogative. Paul knew this when he affirmed, "I can do all things through Christ, which strengtheneth me." This was a reference, not merely to the historic Jesus, nor to any special bestowment of power, but to such a perception of God's orderly methods as enabled him to command them. These constitute the essential Christ which Jesus outwardly manifested.

Let us concisely state a few fundamental applications of Law that are of the highest importance and utility, but which humanity is slow to recognize.

Love is the high consummation and fulfilment of all Law. It casts out fear, discord, and imperfection. To minister is Godlike — Christlike. Giving out spiritual and material good fulfils divine order, and, therefore, benefits the giver as well as the recipient. In proportion to one's bestowment upon others his own being is enriched. Giving and receiving are found to be but the different sides of one whole. Ministry is the motive power of spiritual advance-

ment, for the law of love reaches down, rules and overcomes adverse laws which are below itself.

The laws of mental delineation are also of supreme importance in the human economy. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." One unconsciously grows into the likeness of his favorite mental specifications, and finally becomes the expression of his ruling thought. Evil, if brought near, examined, and analyzed, grows more realistic as it is dwelt upon, and this is true even when the sincere purpose is its opposition. As darkness is the mere absence of light, so evil displaced by good fades to its native nothingness. Good is positive because it is Godlike and lawful. The objective vitality of evil is gained from the reflection of subjective consciousness. If we had nothing wrong in ourselves as a correspondence, we could never recognize the same quality in others, and if such a condition were general, the Christly law of non-resistance would have unlimited sway. "Thinketh no evil," is to give it no breathing space. Pessimism is unwholesome because it multiplies bad conditions and galvanizes them into life. One always finds what he looks for. Recognizing only the best in humanity it is thereby subjectively and objectively emphasized and brought into manifestation. The sensational and realistic delineation of criminal details in journalism and fiction multiplies crime and criminals. One who commits a physical assault is speedily arrested and punished by society, but the assaults of dime novels, police gazette literature and illustrations upon youthful and plastic mind are vastly more deadly. The exhibition and depiction of objective depravity arouses and stimulates its subjective correspondence.

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

Nature is optimistic, and as civilization recedes from natural standards towards artificialness it tends toward chaos and decay. We may reverently affirm that God is perfect and infinite Optimism.

The throes and penalties which appear inherent in the material nature of man are the necessary incidents, experiences, and goads in the great process of spiritual evolution.

Intrinsic growth in the individual and in society is through pain and confusion, these being the effervescence of good and evil; the conflict between the divinity and the animality in dual human nature. The maledictions of the imprecatory psalms of David were directed against the adverse forces of his own lower nature, and not against foes without.

The immutable law of correspondence in physical expression would be of supreme utility to the race if its potency were generally recognized. The human body being but a literal transcript of the mind, physical inharmonies can be rectified through mental and spiritual lawfulness, but as the process is complex and gradual, the correspondence is not superficially apparent.

Those most significant and well-defined laws which govern thought are also but lightly appreciated. Thoughts are powers and even when unexpressed they go forth armed with influences for good or ill upon other minds. The moulding power of thought currents, and their utility or abuse as regulated by Law, are more truly corner-stones in the scientific Temple of Truth than are the orderly methods of gravitation, cohesion, or any other observed phenomena of the physical world. Large thought-space bestowed upon unworthy objects or propensities confer dominion upon them. Even an utter nonentity may thus crowd the whole field of vision, and be galvanized into supreme reality. The sensualist dwells in a sensual atmosphere, and to him the whole world has a corresponding hue. The whole objective universe takes on the color and quality of the subjective status of the beholder. If there be a barren waste within, the external world will be a veritable Sahara. All visible actions and occurrences are but the inevitable sequences of stored-up aggregations of thought. High thinking, cultivated and encouraged, elevates the consciousness and transforms the thinker. Thoughts being substance, each current delineation that is poured into the great reservoir of unconscious mind adds a tinge of its own color. Every sequence is not a matter of chance, but of Law.

Rich outward environment does not bring harmony and contentment, even though the world believes the reverse, as indicated by the mad race for power, wealth, and position. Material attainment, however marvellous, will never usher in the "Golden Age." The wealth of invention which has

so wonderfully augmented man's physical accomplishment during the past fifty years, has conferred no additional happiness. The greatly broadened scale of material comforts only increases and intensifies his sullen discontent with his lot. Humanitarians who confine their efforts to the amelioration of physical conditions alone, only touch the surface of human misery. If every one were housed in a palace, dissatisfaction, rivalry, and restlessness would still be the rule.

The intellect may be cultivated, and the tastes refined to the utmost, without in the least quickening the moral pulse or lifting man into a higher and more harmonious consciousness. When well-rounded spiritual and moral character becomes the goal of mankind, and the search for harmony is made within rather than without, ideal conditions will become manifest. By invariable Law the spiritual realm of man's nature is serene and perfect, and the ego must climb into its delectable atmosphere in order to inhale the divine ozone.

Everything that lives grows into the likeness of its environment. Man can invoke either the true or false, and surround himself with it as if by magic. By and through Law, he is a creator, and can build subjective worlds and ere long the objective sphere takes on their quality. Materialistic science has fancied that it was exploring the whole realm of logical truth, while in fact it has hardly raised its eyes above the lower and cruder side. A study of the influence of unexpressed thought is as truly scientific as a research in microscopy or electricity, and the logical sequences of different subjective mental states are of far greater practical interest than an inquiry into the principles of chemistry or bacteriology.

A study of health is vastly more profitable than a study of disease, because every mental delineation presses for outward structural expression.

Religion teaches that love is the sum total of the moral code, but science has yet to discover that love is the grand focus where all the infinite lines of Law converge. It is already apparent to the spiritual vision of keen observers that love is the highest Law, but the fact will gradually dawn upon humanity that in the kingdom of the Real, love is the *only* Law. The law of attraction which is omnipres-

ent in the material cosmos may be regarded as an exact correspondence of the universality of love in the pure realm of all-embracing spirit. The colors of the rainbow, when blended, form the pure white light, and so, however complex and heterogeneous law in its thousand aspects may appear, its final translation is love. In its ultimate, Love sees only love outside of itself. It finally becomes incapable of beholding anything besides, because all else is composed of subjective falsity. Only the Real will glorify the field of its delectable vision.

Tennyson beautifully expresses this thought:—

“One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off, divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.”

Love in its lower forms is educational. Personal, paternal, filial, and even conjugal loves, are the training schools of that broader, perfected, impersonal Law of Attraction. The grand climax of the welding of Law and Love will only be reached when it blossoms into universal recognition as the One Force of the Universe. Then will be realized the *scientific* exactness of the declaration that “God is Love.” Such a subjective recognition, whether here or hereafter, is known as Heaven.

“Where good and ill,
And joy and moan,
Melt into one,
There Past, Present, Future, shoot
Triple blossoms from one root;
Substances at base divided
In their summits are united;
There the holy essence rolls,
One, through separated souls.

All lesser and lower conditions lack *perfected lawfulness*, and are but mirror-like reflections of different degrees of unlawful consciousness. All other characteristics ascribed to God are subjective images projected and magnified. The “consuming fire” of pure Love may wear a terrible aspect to those who are persistently law-less, and that aspect is called hell. Such distorted vision kindles purifying internal fires until falsity is consumed, and this brings God — the Real — into recognition as “All in all.”

A WORLD-WIDE REPUBLIC.

BY E. P. POWELL.

HUMAN fraternity and universal good-will is no longer a dream of enthusiasts, but a practical and solvable problem. So much has been accomplished since Voltaire, as Wendell Phillips had it, "prated democracy in the salons, while he carefully held on to the flesh-pots of society by crouching low to kings and their mistresses," that we can say republicanism is a proved success, and a long stride ahead of monarchy as a matter of governmental and social evolution. The drift and purpose alike of our age is toward liberty and fraternity. Nationalism no longer satisfies popular sentiment. There is a code of international law that governs three fourths of the globe; I mean all the high seas; so that we may say that it is only on the land that either feudalism or monarchy is tolerated. We have, besides, one continent practically democratic. It will take our Southern neighbors, beginning with unfavorable heredity, many years and more struggles to be able to construct their democratic sentiments into republican law and order; but there is not the least sign of a backward movement. Churches are not content with continental boundaries, but reach across oceans with their Pan-Episcopal, Pan-Methodist, Pan-Presbyterian, Pan-Congregationalist, as well as Pan-Catholic councils. The word of the master was a grand one and universal: "The Field is the World."

The recent session of the Committee of Three Hundred, having in charge the calling of a congress of all enlightened nations, to meet in America in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition, in 1893, was in line with natural evolution, and a notable event. The first meeting was in New York in 1890, and was held in Faunce's Tavern, Washington's Headquarters, a century before; the second was held in Washington, in rooms furnished by the Government. Already at this stage there were engaged in the movement, either by active work or as heartily endorsing the aim in view, such

men in this country as stand foremost in Church and State. Best of all, there was no lack of affiliation on account of party or creed — or no creed. John Boyle O'Reilly, just before his death, said, with the language of a poet as well as a statesman, "The nineteenth century could not close with a nobler work." General Sherman wrote, "The whole world turns to us to find the result of our experiment."

The third meeting was held in Philadelphia on the 12th and 13th of October. The object was most specifically to issue an "Address to the Nations," to organize a "Human Freedom League," and to transact such other business as might further the general purpose of holding the International Congress of 1893. The sessions of the 12th were held in Independence Hall, from whence, one hundred years ago, went forth the declaration that all men are born with equal rights, — a principle that won the sneers of autocracy, but which has since won the approval of the world. Governor Pattison welcomed the committee to Pennsylvania, and Mayor Stuart to Philadelphia's hospitality, with stirring words. The governor said, "The sovereignty of kings is giving way before the sovereignty of the people. A more opportune time than the present could not be chosen for the advancement of popular government. We are about to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the landing of Columbus. The nations of the earth are invited within our borders. The purpose of the Pan-Republic Congress will be to take advantage of their presence to spread the spirit of popular government." Dr. Persifor Frazer, chairman of the local committee, said in the opening speech, "The movement has been most gradual, and has been for the attainment of more justice, a broader manhood, the abolition of national theft and murder, termed annexation and war; the substitution of fair dealing and arbitration; to ameliorate the sufferings of mankind, and curb the license of armed tyranny." The proposed congress, it is understood, shall consist of two classes of delegates, those representing governments already republican, and those who simply stand for freedom and human progress without regard to government. In other words, there will be representative men present, co-operating in the congress, from nations governed by monarchs. Meanwhile each session of the Committee will discuss and permit to be discussed human wrongs anywhere, and of any social character.

The adoption of an "Address to the Nations," proved to be a difficult matter at the second gathering in Washington; it was not wholly relieved of its delicacy at Philadelphia. Proposed addresses had been requested from Edward Everett Hale, D. D., Professor Burgess, of Yale College, Col. H. C. Parsons, of Virginia, John Clark Ridpath, LL. D., of Indiana, E. P. Powell, of Clinton, New York, and Col. Ethan Allen, of New York. These were referred to a committee of which Professor Goode, of the Smithsonian Institute, is chairman. There is naturally some difference of opinion as to how far this address shall commit those issuing it to an aggressive tone. It seems to be recognized as wise by nearly all interested, to speak only as brothers to brothers; or, as Henry Clay said in 1818, "I would not seek to force on other nations our principles and our liberty if they do not want them. I would not disturb the repose of even a detestable despotism." The formation of a Human Freedom League was attended with no differences of opinion, and occupied the afternoon session of Monday. William O. McDowell, of Newark, New Jersey, was elected president, and communication was opened with similar leagues forming in Europe. A mass meeting in the Opera House in the evening was addressed by Ex-Governor Hoyt, of Wyoming, and other able speakers, who carried the movement cautiously and wisely forward. After the opening address of Tuesday a poem was read by Ella Wheeler Wilcox. During the day, which was devoted to miscellaneous discussion and fraternization, there were seven or eight nationalities represented among the speakers. Letters were read from Grover Cleveland, Cardinal Gibbons, Rev. Dr. W. C. Roberts, of Chicago, Archbishop Ireland, and Ex-President Hayes, expressing deep regret at being compelled to be absent. A remarkable paper, eloquent and considerate, was presented by Yung Wing, LL. D., of China, at one time minister plenipotentiary from that country. Edward Everett Hale, Mrs. Wittenmeyer, President of the Woman's Relief Corps during the Civil War; Dr. Persifor Frazer, Lucy Stone, Dr. David C. Kelley, and others joined in the debates or delivered addresses, while Hon. Walter Logan, and Mayor Chase, of Omaha, were among those who responded to toasts at the banquet on Tuesday evening. The next meeting of the Committee will be at Omaha in April. There

will be cheerful and cordial welcome given to sincere workers, desirous of co-operating in the purposes of the committee, and of the Human Freedom League. It does not need to be said that mere agitators and professional revolutionists have their vocation elsewhere.

This is a succinct account of the meeting in Philadelphia. It was every way stronger than the preceding gathering at Washington. There is nothing just now on the horizon more promising than the purpose to close up our century with a forward movement of republicanism. The social evolution of the future will be more and more cosmopolitan. The national idea is flowing into the broader idea of internationalism. We are now in our higher civilization inaugurating a change of social forms, and an exchange of controlling influences fully equal to that from feudalism to centralism. The control which for three centuries has remained with the middle classes, is now passing into the hands of the differentiated and educated masses. Giving the gospel to the poor was a dream realized only in giving them free schools. They now have the ballot as free as the school. It is impossible for a highly moral nature to withhold sympathy from those who believe that society can be so ameliorated that there shall be an end of wars, and of all standing armies, as well as an equalization of the products of industry that shall essentially banish poverty and its vices. The aim of this movement is, in fine, to decrease the hindrances to human happiness, and increase the power of hope and love. The work laid out for the congress is broad and humanitarian. The general scope, as defined by a previous pronouncement of the committee, is to consider the general welfare, and promote the spread over all the world of free institutions. The work will, however, concentrate in a grand effort to lessen the power of both individual potentates and races to tyrannize over the weaker, to promote the sentiment of peace over war, and to exalt arbitration over battle, to create, in fine, a reign of intelligence and moral purpose over brute force.

Mr. Carnegie has lately amplified with much of his eloquence a not entirely new idea of a league of English-speaking peoples. He calculates that the child is born who will see four hundred million English-speaking people in the United States alone. He advocates an alliance larger than

that which England now sustains as "imperial," namely, a race confederation. He is convinced that England should request her colonies to establish independent governments. Then should follow free-trade and an affiliation in religion, laws, literature, postal customs, coins, and other commercial appliances. Mr. Carnegie even looks forward to a general council of all these English-speaking peoples, a "Supreme Court which shall judge between the nations forming the league." This scheme is broad, rational, and forward-looking; but it is clumsy as compared to a fraternization of adjacent peoples without regard to race or even form of government. Such a federation might hold a common court of adjudication on international questions, even while a part of the States included remained locally monarchical. Nor is there any reason why there might not be a legislative council as well as a Court of Arbitration, holding fast, however, to the conceded principle that such a congress and court shall be concerned only with matters international. It is not, therefore, a mere chimera, when many of the most enlightened minds of the world seek to promote a federation of all enlightened peoples, and a world-wide republic. The fulfilment of this hope may lie some distance in the future; but who, one hundred years ago, would have dared to dream a republic of nearly fifty States covering the western continent from ocean to ocean. We who inherit the full testament of the eighteenth century should leave a legacy as far-sighted, as humane, and hopeful for the workers who are to people the twentieth.

WHAT IS BUDDHISM?

Condensed from the work by Subhadra Bickshu, and translated for The Arena by
CHARLES SCHRODER.

A DEEP Buddhistical vein is now going through the modern world of Western nations, having become especially forceful and penetrating since the period when Schopenhauer erected his philosophical system, more or less, on the very old teachings of Buddha Gautáma.

There is no want of comprehensive scientific works in reference to Buddhism, and poets, also, have been unable to resist the great attraction of the doctrines of this Indian sage, as is shown in the works of Richard Wagner, which are largely influenced by the ground-thoughts of Buddhism. The Samsara and Nirvana have become current expressions of many of our modern poets, not only in their descriptions of scenes relating to the world in which we live, but also in their pictures of salvation from this world of Error, Guilt, Suffering, Birth, and Death.

Subhadra Bickshu, one of the most exalted disciples of Buddhism, has recently published a catechism, compiled from the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists, for the use of Europeans, with explanatory remarks wherever needed. This little work contains the most important points of Buddha's teachings, leaving out the superstitions with which the people's child-like fancy has, in the course of thousands of years, embellished them.

Buddha's real name is Siddhartha, of the kingly house of Gautama. His father, Suddhodana, was king of the Indian race of the Sakyas, and Aryan people, living at the foot of the Himalayas, about one hundred and fifty miles from Benares; the capital was Kapilawastu, on the river Rohini, now called Kohana. The story of the birth and life of Siddhartha Gautama, as given by the sacred works of India, is briefly as follows:

In Kapilawastu, Siddhartha was born on a Friday of the year 623 B. C. The Brahmins, who lived at the court as

priests and astrologers, had predicted that the prince, should he remain in the worldly life, would become one of the greatest of kings, but if he embraced religious asceticism, would be a victorious and perfect enlightener of the world.

Similar prophecies were made by the hermit saint, Kaladewila, who hurried from the wilderness of the Himalayas in order to greet the new-born child. King Suddhodna was ill pleased with the latter prophecy, and resolved to educate his son in such a manner as would be sure to keep him in the worldly life, and secure for him the succession to the throne. To accomplish this, all things were removed from his son's presence that would have given him knowledge of human suffering, age, and death. The most celebrated teachers were engaged for him, whose chief efforts were directed towards this end. His father built him three palaces, and in these, situated in the midst of large and magnificent gardens, the prince spent his youth. He had everything his heart could desire, with the one exception that he was not permitted to leave the boundaries of the gardens, from which the poor, sick, and aged were vigorously excluded. When the prince had reached his sixteenth year, his father married him to the Princess Yasodhara, and he continued to live the usual life of an Indian heir to the throne of a kingdom, until his twenty-ninth year. One day, while driving through his fine grounds, he met three, to him very strange, spectacles, which suddenly opened his eyes to the true nature of existence: First, a broken, tottering man, bent double under the weight of extreme old age; then, a sick and weakly child, whose body was covered with festering sores, and lastly, the dead body of a youth, already in an advanced state of decomposition, was being carried towards him. These hitherto unknown pictures moved him to the depths of his being; the whole nothingness and mutability of life were made clear to him, as if by magic. He at once began to change his life by avoiding all amusements; and the conviction gradually grew in him that existence was not a good to be desired, but rather an evil to be deplored, and that it was foolish and entirely unworthy of a noble nature to seek after the joys and dissipations of this world.

His whole aim was, henceforth, the endeavor to ascertain the causes and mysteries of sickness, death, and re-birth, and

to find a means of abolishing them. For this purpose he concluded to leave the world and retire into the wilderness.

One night, when all were asleep, Siddhartha rose, cast a last look on his sleeping wife and little son Rahula, wakened his trusty Tschanna, and ordered him to saddle his favorite horse. He rode away, leaving behind him power, honor, riches, and those he loved best in the world. Arrived at the river Anoma, he cut off his beautiful hair with his sword, delivered to the faithful servant his arms, jewels, and his horse, ordering him to return to his former home and acquaint his father and wife as to his fate. He then remained seven days longer at the river Anoma, occupied with deep and earnest thoughts. Meeting a beggar, he exchanged clothes with him, and journeyed to Radja-Grila, the capital of the Kingdom Magadha, near which lived two celebrated Brahma scholars, whose pupil he became. They taught him that the soul should be purified through prayer, sacrifices, and religious usages of many kinds, and be redeemed through the grace of God. But he soon recognized that the knowledge of these men was vain and futile, neither bringing him peace nor leading him to redemption from sickness, death, and renewed birth.

He now subjected himself in a forest near Uruwala, to the severest asceticism, praying and fasting in the solitude, and inflicting on himself the hardest and most painful bodily punishments. Soon the reputation of his great sanctity brought him five comrades, who were pursuing similar aims. For six years Siddhartha existed in this frightful manner, when he noticed that his strength was leaving him. Now, at last, he recognized that asceticism did not lead to the wished-for haven. He, therefore, ceased his self-tortures, though his companions began to become doubtful of his sincerity, and again took regular nourishment. He resolved to live henceforth solely in conformity with the dictates of his real inward being, abstaining from all sensuality, and striving, in perfect solitude, to unlock his innermost Ego, and reveal his highest spiritual powers. He took a bath in the river Nirandjara, ate some rice food, and reclined towards evening under a Nigrodha tree (*ficus religiosa*) with the positive determination not to rise again until he had attained to the highest moral and spiritual knowledge. Under this tree he fought the last and hardest battle with his earthly

desires and lustful appetites, whose power then appeared to him to be greater than ever; the battle with that longing for existence and pleasures, with that strong desire to live, which is at once the root of our being, and the source of all our sufferings.

Honor, reputation, power, riches, earthly love, family happiness, and all other worldly attractions, now appeared to him in the most tempting manner. And, besides all these, the carking doubt whether, after all, he was pursuing the right road. At last he conquered; the veil was torn from his eyes, and the highest knowledge was his reward; he had become a perfect world-illuminated Buddha.

Space does not permit us to enumerate all the future life phases of Buddha, as teacher; the sending out of converted brothers, the success of his teaching in Kapilawastu, with his father and son, as well as in the whole district of the Ganges. He taught forty-five years, and at his death Buddhism was securely founded.

He died in his eightieth year, in the arms of his favorite pupil, Ananda. His last words were: "Ye must not think, my brothers, the voice of the master is stilled, we are now without a guide. The gospel, which I have made known to you, the rules of a pure, immaculate, life-journey which I have established for you, shall be your guide and teacher when I cease to be with you. Always bear in mind, my brothers, my admonition that all created things are mutable and fleeting; strive, without ceasing, for the release of the body, and for redemption from sin."

Let us now turn to the gospel of the Buddhists (Dharma), the truth and order of healing, as revealed intuitively to and proclaimed by, the Buddha, transmitted by the Arahats, and inscribed in the three holy books: The Sutra, Vinaya, Abhidharma-Pitaka. They contain: I. the orations and expressions of the Buddha, II. the precepts and life-rules for the brotherhood of the elect, and III. the religious philosophy of Buddhism. The contents of these writings are by no means claimed to be divine revelations, for the idea that eternal truth has been revealed to a few favorite ones by a God or an angel is held to be preposterous and founded on nothing. Men have never received any other revelation than through the medium of those exalted teachers of the race, who, through their own power and indomitable perse-

verance, have gained the highest perfection man is capable of, and who, therefore, are called world-enlighteners or Buddhas.* The aim of Buddhism is the release or emancipation from the Samsara or the world of error, guilt, suffering, death, and birth. It is the world of the beginning and of the ending; of the eternal changes, deceptions, disappointments, and pain; the unceasing, never-ending course of re-births or re-incarnations, from which we cannot flee so long as the real light of redemption and truth has not entered into and found lodgment in our souls. The expression of re-birth, in the Buddhistical sense, has nothing in common with the Christian idea of new birth or being born again. The doctrine of Buddhism of re-birth, i.e., the continued re-incorporation of our real spiritual being, forms the fundamental principle of the great Asiatic religions.

The doctrine of the re-birth is alone sufficient to explain to the Buddhists the mystery of existence; it explains why the righteous man is often so poor and despised, while the evil-doer enjoys riches and honor; it replies to the despairing question, addressed constantly but vainly to heaven by millions of souls, "Why have we to suffer and endure so much?" It explains that, indestructible as are the forces of nature and matter, so, likewise, is the innermost being of man. Death is no annihilation, but only the passing over from one feeble form into another; whosoever takes pleasures in this world, there is none to gainsay him, neither a God nor a devil can rob him of them, but he must abide by the consequences. Man's real fate depends solely on his inward being, on his own will, and he has the prospect of countless re-births, in which he will earn the fruits of both his good and his evil deeds. But, to him who is weary of this unceasingly renewed existence, and will earnestly strive for freedom and release, is opened a way of redemption.

The cause of suffering, death, and re-birth is the will to

*It is that indwelling power which, as Jesus of Nazareth taught, is possessed by, or overshadows every human being, which our Master called "the light of the world," Matt. v. 14, and which is described by John 1. 9, as "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." With some of us this power, no doubt in consequence of former lives, has reached a high state of development; others are more moderately endowed with it, and again others appear to be entirely destitute of even a trace. But even with the last the absence of the light is not real, but only apparent, though it has been so continuously suppressed through successive bad lives with their worldly aims and desires, as to seem to be totally extinguished.

Indeed, the resemblance between the teachings of Christ and those of the Buddha becomes greater in the degree as they are stripped, the former of man-made creeds and dogmas, and the latter of the superstitions and embellishments, neither of which had their origin in the doctrines of the respective masters. — *Translator.*

live, which fills us all; the desire of individual existence in this or in some other world. The will to live in Buddhistical sense is not only the conscious will, but that unconscious life-force which dwells in all creatures and organisms, in animals and plants as well as in man. Only by abandoning this will, and by totally suppressing the desire for an individual existence, in this or in some future world, can man ever be freed and redeemed, and reach eternal peace.

The road to this release, to Nirvana, we can find through the recognition of four healing truths, viz: the truth of *suffering*, the truth of the *cause* of *suffering*, the truth of the *cessation* of *suffering*, and the truth of the *way* which will lead to cessation from suffering.

Buddha teaches that it is because of our non-recognition of these four cardinal truths, that we have to travel so long the mournful and dreary road of re-births. But when these truths are once fully recognized and acted upon, the will to live disappears, the longing which leads to renewed existence ceases, and the Samsara is a thing of the past.

In the book relating to the announcement of a moral world rule, the following words, referring to the four healing truths, are said by the Buddha: This, brethren, is the supreme truth of *suffering*; birth is suffering, age is suffering, sickness is suffering, death is suffering; to be parted from loved ones is suffering; to be placed together with unloved ones is suffering; not to obtain that which we desire is suffering; to bear that which we dislike is suffering; in one word, existence as an individual, an Ego, is, according to its nature, suffering.

This, brethren, is the supreme truth of the *cause* of suffering: It is the will to live, the desire to enjoy our existence which leads from birth to re-birth, and seeks satisfaction, now in this, now in that appearance. It is the longing to satisfy our passions, the wish for individual joy in this or in some other life. This, brethren, is the supreme truth of the *cessation* of suffering: It is the total destruction of our will to live, of our desire to exist and to enjoy. You must overcome and crush it, so that it has no place where it can hide. This, brethren, is the supreme truth of the *way* which leads to cessation of suffering: Verily, it is the supreme road, consisting of eight parts, which are called: true knowledge,

true will, true word, true deed, true life, true endeavor, true thought, and true forgetting of self. There are two roads of error, brethren, which he who is striving for freedom from earth-dominion may not travel. The one, the longing to satisfy our passions and sense-desires of whatever kind, is low, mean, dishonorable, and destructive; it is the road on which travel the children of this world. The other, the asceticism and self-torture, is sombre, painful, and utterly useless. The middle road alone, which has been found by the one who has attained perfection, avoids these two error-roads, opens the eyes, imparts self-knowledge, and leads to peace, to truth, to enlightenment, to Nirvana.

The Nirvana, according to the explanation of the Buddhist scholar, is a condition of holy peace, accompanied by the indestructible certainty of obtained freedom and release. Nirvana means, literally, to be extinguished. The will to live, the longing for earthly joys, here or somewhere else, is extinguished. The false idea, that material goods can have any value, or be lasting, has evaporated. Gone is the flame of sensuality and selfishness.

Although it is possible to reach Nirvana already in this life, an extremely small number are able to accomplish it. Our mental and moral condition, through the effect of deeds in former births, is generally so deficient that many re-births are needed before we can arrive at this haven of peace. But to obtain a re-birth under *favorable* conditions is within the power of every one who earnestly strives for it. It solely depends on the wish to live which dwells in all of us, and forms the kernel of our existence.

The nature of our re-birth depends entirely on our deeds, and is regulated by merit and guilt as exhibited in our former lives. If our *merit* is greatest, we shall be born again in a higher state or world, and under favorable conditions. If, however, we have subjected ourselves to heavy guilt through evil deeds, a re-birth in a lower place, and rich in sorrow and suffering, is the necessary and inevitable result. The consequences depend on our Karma, the moral law of the world, of which the physical law, as seen by us, is only the sensual and temporal appearance. Karma is that which other religions designate as divine purpose, providence, or fate.

Re-birth may not only take place on this earth, but also

on any one of the innumerable inhabited worlds, with partly lower and partly higher developed conditions.

There are two kinds of Buddhists. Those who express the refuge formula, and make *five* general solemn declarations, but remain in the worldly state, are called Upasaka, i.e., acknowledgers or followers of the doctrine. But the really true disciples of Buddha are only those who abjure the world and, in making *ten* solemn declarations, walk the supreme path of eight parts, which leads to enlightenment and liberty. These take the name of Bickshu, or Samanes, and form the Sangha, i.e., brotherhood of the elect.

The Refuge-Formula (Trisarana), which is binding on every Buddhist, reads thus: "I take my refuge to Buddha, I take my refuge to the doctrine, I take my refuge to the brotherhood of the elect."

The five solemn declarations of the worldly followers are these, viz.: I solemnly declare:—

I. Not to kill or injure any living being.

II. Not to steal.

III. Not to pursue any illicit pleasures; i.e., to abstain from all forbidden sexual intercourse.

IV. Not to lie, to cheat, or to bear false witness.

V. Not to drink any intoxicating beverages.

The first of the above declarations (which is the *neminem larde* of Schopenhauer's) is the most important one. It not only refers to man, but to all living organisms. Whoever wantonly kills, injures, or tortures animals is no follower of Buddha, and cannot expect to receive a favorable re-birth.

The fifth declaration, in its full sense, is only binding on the real disciples. For the worldly followers it merely means abstinence from the use of what are termed ardent liquors; the temperate use of wine and beer, however, is permitted to the Upasaka. Whoever sincerely lives up to these five declarations will be highly esteemed on earth, and his re-birth will take place under conditions more favorable than the former one.

For the brotherhood of the elect, besides other strict life-rules, are added five more solemn declarations, viz.: I solemnly declare:—

VI. To eat only at stated times.

VII. To abstain from dancing, from the singing of

worldly songs, from attending public performances and musical exhibitions, in fact, to avoid all worldly pleasures.

VIII. To abstain from vanity, give up the use of jewels and ornaments of every description, as well as that of perfumed clothing, soaps, salves, and oils.

IX. To avoid the use of luxurious, soft beds, and to sleep only on a hard and low couch.

X. To always live in voluntary poverty.

The third declaration is also made more strict for the Bickshu, in that it demands from him absolute celibacy, sexual virtue and purity, and the fifth declaration means for him that he must entirely abstain from the use of intoxicating beverages of whatever kind, nor is he permitted to eat any kind of animal food.

The path of eight parts, which the Arahats must pursue, we have already explained. Many of the Bickshus live in monasteries, or as hermits in forests. They are to be living examples to the Upasakas of abstemiousness, self-denial, and holiness, must, when the latter desire it, explain the holy teachings to them, and are required in all phases of life where the Upasakas need moral and spiritual support and guidance, to give them their advice and assistance, the same as was formerly done by Buddha.

Every member is free to leave the brotherhood at all times, for the Buddhists know nothing of compulsion. Whoever desires to return to the pleasures (so-called) of this world, can make known his weakness to any of the prominent brothers, and is given his freedom without incurring any dishonor, or having to listen to deprecatory remarks. But whoever casts ignominy on the society through heavy and wanton transgressions of his solemn declarations receives the severest punishment known to the Buddhists—he is expelled from the brotherhood.

It remains now for us to point out some of the principal differences between the religion of the Buddhists and that of the Christians and other sects. A redemption through the merit of Buddha is not known to the Buddhist.

No one can shield another from the results of his evil deeds. Each one has to work out his own salvation. Neither can any one lessen the rewards due to a good man for his good deeds. Man gains moral rewards, through living up to his solemn declarations in spirit, thought, word,

and deed, through constant effort after knowledge, i. e., knowledge of himself, but beyond all, through kindness and justice towards all living beings.

In order to gain real merit and reward, we must overcome the love of self, as this is the foundation of all our errors, foolish and evil deeds; we must shun the evil and encompass the good. Evil is every thought and action, purposing the injury and torture of other beings; every selfish desire having for its aim our own well-being, without considering whether others may have to suffer in consequence of it. Evil may not be repaid by evil; the disciple of Buddha simply leaves the evil-doer to eternal justice. He pities and pardons him, for the bad man will have to suffer for his unrighteousness, in consequence of the effect of the Karma, either in this or in the next birth, and his sufferings will be severe, in proportion as he now sins and rejoices.

There is no eternal punishment for the guilty one; the moral and spiritual law rests on justice; therefore, every evil deed finds only a corresponding temporary penalty in this or in a following birth. Great crimes require many re-births for their punishment, as dwellers in dark worlds, until the offence is condoned. No crime is considered greater than large possessions of goods or money in a world where there are so many poor, and all real disciples look upon a rich man with sincere pity, for they know that his punishment will be terrible. Hereditary sin does not exist; the idea is entirely opposed to eternal justice. No one needs to suffer for the faults of others. Where there is suffering there must be evil, and where evil is there must be suffering. If we see the good and just suffer on earth, we may be sure that it is in consequence of his unfavorable Karma. It is in expiation of the debt with which he has loaded himself in former births. If we see the guilty and the unjust in high esteem, and living in the midst of pleasures, it is in consequence of their good deeds in former births. But, after having lived a life of pleasures, they must again reap the bitter fruits of their selfishness and guilt in the coming re-births.

No one can avoid the consequences of bad deeds, through suicide. Eternal justice knows no mercy. The Dhammapada which is the magnificent collection of Buddhist lore, says: "Not at the utmost ends of the world, not in the depths of the oceans, not in the fastnesses of the mountains,

will you find a refuge from the consequences of your guilty deeds." Suicide itself, however, is not considered an evil action, but a very foolish one, for it cuts off a life-thread which, in conformity with the law of Karma, will be at once renewed, and under less favorable conditions. He who tries to avoid, through suicide, the sufferings which he is undergoing for his own good, proves by this that he has not the will to become better and wiser. Through this action he has entered the dark path, which conducts him to a rebirth in a world of despair and torture. Repentance and contrition may aid in one's salvation, but only when accompanied and expressed by condoning deeds. The most self-debasing repentance is utterly useless unless expressed by good and unselfish actions.

The religion of the Buddhists is dominated by a spirit of purest tolerance. Never and nowhere has blood been shed for its propagation; it has never, wherever successfully established, pursued and maltreated those whose beliefs were different. What other religion can say this of itself? According to Buddha's teachings, those of other religions may gain salvation and freedom. The moral and spiritual order of the world does not ask what one believes or disbelieves. Only, to the Buddhist, the road has been made easier, for he has the true teacher to point out the way. But that does not preclude him who follows the wrong teacher after many erroneous journeys, from finally arriving at the right goal. It is probably unnecessary to observe that Buddhism knows no miracles, as such, and that it does not consider prayer, sacrifices, and other usages necessary to reach salvation. The principle differences between Buddha's religion and those of other teachers are stated by Subhadra Bickshu in the following words:—

"Buddhism teaches the highest wisdom and goodness without a personal God; a continuation of being without an immortal soul; an eternally blessed state without a local heaven; a possibility of salvation without a vicarious saviour; a redemption where each is his own redeemer, and which can be reached without prayer, sacrifices, self-torture, or other usages; without priests and the mediumship of saints; without divine grace, and solely through one's own will and power; and finally a highest perfection which may be enjoyed already in this life and on this earth."

WALT WHITMAN.

BY D. G. WATTS.

WE are all familiar with Hans Christian Andersen's story of the "ugly duckling." Walt Whitman is the ugly duckling of American literature, and all the barn-yard fowls — those who have never flown over the fence of conventionality — peck at him. But are they not, unawares, ill-treating a beautiful swan? The recognition of Whitman has been scant indeed. The magazines are filled with panegyrics of Browning and Emerson, Longfellow and Tennyson, but in praise of Whitman no voice is raised. Carlyle has said that "Sympathy is the first essential of insight." Without such a vantage ground no man's life-work can be understood and properly represented. Carlyle has himself suffered from the want of sympathy on the part of his biographer. Whatever our other qualifications may be for writing this sketch, we feel sure we fulfilled the essential one of sympathy, and to those to whom this may come, we say: you, too, must put yourself *en rapport* with Whitman, if you wish to understand him. If we should be asked to state in one word what Walt Whitman stands for, we would name it Freedom. Freedom of a nation: Democracy; freedom of the spirit: man.

Emerson struck the key-note of the new thought in his address to the divinity students of Cambridge, and the sweet sound was caught up by listening ears throughout our liberty-loving land. The truth was in the air, and lay ready to be moulded into speech. Emerson was the voice, and gave it utterance. It could not have failed to be spoken ultimately, but Emerson was nearest the source of all truth, and soonest caught the words of the inarticulate voice. It is true that many like Alcott, Ripley, Thoreau, and Whitman were, under the powerful stimulus of the new truth, led into some extremes of thought and life. "Sanity is the balance of a thousand insanities." Should it, then, be accounted strange that men like Thoreau and Whitman — blinded by the very excess of light — were betrayed into

occasional "insanities"? It is interesting to observe the effect of the idea of liberty upon such widely dissimilar natures. One, because of injustice in the State, defied the laws of the State; the other, because of inconsistencies in the laws of society, defied its laws. One, shy, shrinking, and sensitive, seeing man's coarseness and grossness, loves solitude, and loves it so much that he says, "If I don't get it this week, I will cry for it all next." The other, rugged, self-asserting, and combative, seeing the incongruity between man's professions and man's life, does not fly, not he; he stays to fight them — right them. Flee from man — he seems to say — man my brother? Why, it is for him that all nature coheres! Man, the ever-old, ever-new problem; man, the universe in miniature; man, created in the image of God — himself a god, — he alone is worthy of my song. I, Walt Whitman, sing of myself, reveal myself to myself, and thus reveal you to yourself. This is his position and his message. Whitman's attitude towards the body has prevented his taking his rightful place in American literature.

According to his philosophy, the body and the soul are one. "Do you ask," he says, "to see the soul? See your own shape, person, substance, trees, etc." Again, "I have said the soul is not more than the body, and I have said the body is not more than the soul." Looking on the corpse of a fellow-woman, he exclaims, "Fair, fearful wreck, tenement of a soul, *itself a soul!*" Holding such views he announces them, stands by them. "I dare not," he says, "shirk any part of myself."

Although we do not accept his philosophy (there is, however, a certain truth in it), we must, nevertheless, hold him in honor that he has chosen abuse and neglect by non-conformity, rather than praise and reward by conformity. If there be a man qualified more than another to sit in judgment on Whitman, the pure-minded Thoreau was that man. May we not accept his verdict in this matter of the body? We quote from Thoreau's letters, "That Walt Whitman, of whom I wrote you, is the most interesting fact to me at present. I have just read his second edition (which he gave me), and it has done me more good than any reading for a long time. Two or three pieces in the book are disagreeable, to say the least; simply sensual. He does not celebrate love at all. It is as if the beast spoke. No doubt there have always been doors where such deeds were unblushingly

recited, and it is no merit to compete with their inhabitants. But even on this side he has spoken more truth than any American or modern I know. I have found his poems exhilarating, encouraging. As for his sensuality — and it may turn out to be less so than it appears — I do not so much wish that those parts were not written, as that men and women were so pure that they could read them without harm, that is, without understanding them. On the whole, it sounds very brave and American, after whatever deductions. Though rude and sometimes ineffectual, it is a great primitive power."

If we have dwelt at some length on Whitman's position in regard to the body, it has been that we might, as far as possible, free the mind from prejudice in that regard, that the spiritual verities everywhere abounding in his poems might be recognized and enjoyed. Carlyle has said, with a snarl and a sneer, "Close your Byron and open your Goethe," and so we say: If you are not seeking to be lulled and soothed; if you are not satisfied with the lullaby songs; if you do not wish the ear pleased with tintinabulations, close your Poe, aye, even your Longfellow, and your Bryant, and open Walt Whitman. He says of himself, "Did you ask dulcet rhymes from me? Did you seek civilian's peaceful and languishing rhymes? Did you find what I said erewhile so hard to follow? Why, I was not singing erewhile to you to follow, to understand, nor am I now. What to such as you, anyhow, such a poet as I? Therefore, leave my works. Go lull yourself with what you can understand: with piano tunes. For I lull nobody, and you never will understand me."

We have indicated the school of thought to which Whitman belongs; we have roughly outlined the man, but to complete the preparations for the study of his poetry, a knowledge of his style is necessary. His style is veritably bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh. Like himself it is coarse and rugged, and although at times unwieldy, it is not without music of its own.

Emerson and the other leaders of the new movement, while claiming perfect freedom of thought, conformed in the manner of expressing that thought, to the old models. Whitman carried his revolt further. He saw that the world was in bondage to the past; that in law, in medicine, in theology, and in literature, we were ruled by dead men; that in art we were still under the powerful spell of the Greeks; and against this tyranny he also rebelled, and he

formed his style as he did his thoughts, by no model other than himself. "I myself," he says, "make the only growth by which I can be appreciated." To have succeeded in throwing off the shackles that bind us to the past; to have stood detached and aloof from all former models and forms of art, is no small achievement; but this Whitman accomplished. Not that he was ignorant of the "mighty ones, — Job, Homer, Eschylus, Dante, Shakespeare, Tennyson, Emerson," — but he gave up "the backward world," and set himself the task. "To formulate the modern out of the peerless grandeur of the modern; out of himself, comprising science, to recast churches, poems, art recast, may be; discard them — end them."

We have now done what we could to prepare the way to a more perfect understanding of Whitman. It will be a matter of some difficulty, however, to make selections that shall best convey the beauty, range, and aim of his poetry. To aid us in this endeavor, and to simplify our work, we have made the following divisions: Descriptive (miscellaneous) poems; poems of nature; poems of the war; poems of Democracy and man.

Of course such a division is more or less arbitrary, but like Mercutio's wound, "it will serve." Although Whitman's voice is a cry to arms against outward and inward foes, and his measure is pitched to the sound of war's alarms, he occasionally turns aside, to voice an aspiration, to give a glimpse of the lowly lot of man, or to paint nature in her softer moods. Among such descriptive poems we notice a passage in his poem on "Faces" that illustrates his keen sympathy with humanity.

I saw the face of the most smear'd and slobbering idiot that they had at the asylum, and I knew for my own consolation what they knew not; I knew of the agents that emptied and broke my brother; the same wait to clear the rubbish from the fallen tenement, and I shall look again, in a score or two of ages, and I shall meet the real landlord perfect, and unharm'd, every inch as good as myself."

With nature, he is also in true sympathy, as witness this description of the "Twilight": —

The soft, voluptuous, opiate shades,
The sun just gone, the eager light dispell'd — (I, too, will soon be gone,
dispell'd)
A haze—nirvana—rest and night—oblivion."

And this of a "Prairie Sunset": —

"Shot gold, maroon, and violet, dazzling silver, emerald, fawn,
 The earth's whole amplitude and nature's multiform power consign'd
 for once to colors;
 The light, the general air possess'd by them—colors till now unknown.
 No limit, confine—not the western sky alone—the high meridian—North,
 South, all,
 Pure, luminous, color fighting the silent shadows to the last."

How appropriate would be the following over the graves
 of the unknown dead at Gettysburg:—

"Brave, brave, were the soldiers (high named to-day) who lived through
 the fight;
 But the bravest press'd to the front and fell, unnamed, unknown."

Whitman catches the voice, the cries, the shouts of the
 ocean. Witness this from "Patrolling Barnegat":—

"Wild, wild the storm, and the sea high running;
 Steady the roar of the gale with incessant undertone muttering;
 Shouts of demoniac laughter, fitfully piercing and pealing,
 Waves, air, midnight."

Let us now turn to the "Proud Music of the Storm." If
 this poem be read until the language is familiar, and its
 grandeur and movement is realized, it will be seen to com-
 bine the harmonies of the instruments of man with the more
 perfect harmonies of nature, to be indeed a kind of "sphere
 melody." From the majesty of a storm we turn to a more
 silent hour, an hour of meditation:—

"This is thy hour, O soul, thy free flight into the worldless,
 Away from books, away from art, the day erased, the lesson done,
 Thee fully forth emerging, silent, gazing, pondering the themes thou
 lovest best,
 Night, sleep, death, and the stars."

We may well imagine the following to have been one of
 the themes he loved to ponder:—

"Roaming in thought over the universe I saw the little that is good
 hastening towards immortality;
 And the vast that is called evil I saw hastening to merge itself, and be-
 come lost and dead."

We cannot pass on without noticing two poems,—the
 "Prayer of Columbus," the "Star of France." The prayer
 of Columbus might be appropriately read at the opening of
 the World's Fair. How simple and pathetic is this verse:—

"One effort more, my altar, this bleak sand,
 That Thou, O God, my life has lighted
 With ray of light, steady, ineffable, vouchsafed of Thee,
 Light, rare, untellable, lighting the very light,
 Beyond all signs, descriptions, languages;

For that, O God, be it my latest word, here on my knees,
Old, poor, and paralyzed, I thank Thee!"

In the poem "O Star of France" (written in 1870), every line quivers with emotion; with sorrow for the "dim smitten star." France, prostrate and bleeding, he pities, but does not rebuke:—

"Miserable! yet for thy errors, vanities, sins, I will not rebuke thee;
Thy unexampled woes and pangs have quell'd them all,
And left thee sacred."

The closing stanza of this poem read in the light of the recent exposition in Paris is grandly prophetic:—

"Finish'd the days, the clouds dispel'd,
The travail o'er, the long-sought extrication,
When lo! reborn, high o'er the European world,
(In gladness answering thence, as face afar to face, reflecting our Columbia.)

Again thy star, O France, fair lustrous star,
In heavenly peace, clearer, more bright than ever,
Shall beam immortal."

In Whitman's philosophy, nature is always mediate; is connected with, and stands related to man, but she must be wooed before she will yield to man her deepest secrets. He says: "I may have to be persuaded many times before I consent to give myself really to you, but what of that? Must not nature be persuaded many times?" To nature and not to man he goes to sustain his soul and to try his thoughts. In the open air he examines philosophies and religions for "They may prove well in a lecture room, yet not prove at all under the spacious clouds, and along the landscape and flowing currents."

Nature is also a spur and inspiration to him. "I think," (he says) "that heroic deeds were all conceived in the open air, and all free poems also. I think I could stop here myself and do miracles." And again, "Now I see the secret of the making of the best persons. It is to grow in the open air, and to eat and sleep with the earth." Man may not be sympathetic at all times; man may tire, but the earth never tires:—

"The earth is rude, silent, incomprehensible, at first;
Nature is rude and incomprehensible at first.
Be not discouraged, keep on, there are divine things well envelop'd."

Several of the more important of Whitman's poems are songs of nature as illustrating, typifying, explaining man or men. Democracy, such as "Song of the Open Road,"

"Song of the Rolling Earth," "Song of the Redwood Tree." These poems are full of the "primeval sanities" of nature, and also full of man, religion, and the soul. Nature, the universe, being itself, he says, but a road, as many roads, "as roads for travelling souls." Travelling the open road, under the expanse of sky, surrounded by objects of nature, man learns. These objects are real, "but the soul is also real; it, too, is positive and direct." No reasoning, no proof, has established it; undeniable growth has established it. A few poems such as, "Song of the Broad Ax," "Song of Joys," "Song of the Trumpeter," call up to the imagination scenes in nature and in life, and we see them or live them over again. In the "Song of Joys," the pleasures of the senses, and the pleasures of thought, are exquisitely contrasted. We quote in illustration:—

"O for the voices of animals! O for the swiftness and balance of fishes!
O for the dropping of raindrops in a song! O for the sunshine and motion
of waves in a song!

O to realize space!

The plenteousness of all, that there are no bounds;
To emerge and be of the sky, of the sun, and moon, and flying clouds;
as one with them."

This truly is joy, but it yields to higher, and so he sings:—

"Yet O, my soul supreme!

Knowest thou the joys of pensive thought?

Joys of the free and lonesome heart; the tender, gloomy heart?

Joys of the solitary walk, the spirit bow'd, yet proud, the suffering and
the struggle?"

As time goes on, and the Civil War is further removed from the living generation, Whitman's war poems will have an increasing value as throwing side lights on the lurid scenes of that stirring period. With the *vraisemblance* of an eye-witness he gives all the experiences of a soldier. The lament over a fallen comrade; the long march; the struggle; defeat and victory, many a war-worn veteran even now will live over again the sad familiar scenes portrayed in the "Dirge for Two Veterans," and be quickened into the old martial spirit by the "Artilleryman's Vision." By a natural transition we go from the war poems to that greater warfare which man ever fights against foes within and foes without, to which Whitman dedicates himself. In bidding adieu to his war comrade he tells him how peace may have come to him but for himself:—

"And this contentious soul of mine,
Still on our own campaigning bound,
Through untried roads, with ambushes, opponents lined,
Through many a sharp defeat and many a crisis, often baffled,
Here marching, ever marching on, a war fight out — aye here,
To fiercer, weightier battles give expression."

In this greater battle for freedom, we have grouped the poems thus: "Poems of Democracy and man:" Democracy, as the fullest, amplest, expression of the religious principle is Whitman's constant thought, his "great idea." Thus he chants of *Liberty* and Democracy, and the "dear love of comrades," but as the basis for these, as holding in the germ all these, he sings of *himself*, of *yourself*-man.

To bring to the light this real nature of man, thinks Whitman, is *the* mission of the poet, is his own mission. The poet, of all men, has the most faith, and "he who has the most faith sees the farthest." Hence he says, the poet is the "equable man"; that to him we must look, not only "by this steady faith to withhold the years straying towards infidelity," but to "settle justice, reality! Immortality!" With this clear poetic vision Whitman sees a state based on the "dear love of comrades," a state not held together by laws, but by love. He writes, "were you looking to be held together by lawyers? Or by any agreement on paper? Or by arms? Nay, not the world, nor any living thing, will so cohere." This ideal future state he looks for in this favored land of America. Dangers beset her; to herself and her mission she must be true at all hazard; if lost "no victor else has destroyed her but her own self," but he knows she will not be lost, but be victorious over all foes.

"Be not disheartened," he prophesies, "affection will solve the problems of freedom yet. They shall yet make Columbia victorious." But before America, before the State, is the soul! So he orders: Fall behind me, States, for man is before all, typical of all." Before this actual spiritual man, all else gives way; hence he says, "Swiftly I shrivel at the thought of God, at Nature, and its wonders. But that I turning, call to thee, O soul — thou actual me — and lo! thou gently masterest the orbs. Thou matest time, smilest, content at death, and fillest, swellest, full the vastness of space."

Passages many and beautiful crowd upon us, but we must confine this article within reasonable limits, and the quotations we have given must suffice.

The present time is not only one of great material splendor, but is one, as well, of quickened thought and spiritual power. Man is not only making electricity and steam,—external forces,—subservient to him, but he is also learning more of the force that resides within himself, and this spirit power,—this Christ principle—he is applying to himself in controlling the body to the state in plans of associations, of communion; and men are no longer willing to wait the fulfilment of the dreams of poets, and the visions of prophets, but are working *practically* to bring about *ideal* conditions. It seems strange that the bard who has given expression to the longings for universal brotherhood, and a “state of perfect and free individuals,” should not have received the recognition which is his due. Verily, a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country. America has been slow to acknowledge Whitman’s great merits, but in England he has already taken a high position. It is a shame that the country Whitman loves so well, and whose future grandeur and noblest aspirations he constantly celebrates, should withhold her praise, and that encouragement should first come to him from a land, to some extent, out of sympathy with his aims and his teachings. Recognition long delayed should no longer be withheld. He still lingers among us, and there is yet time for the “*amende honorable*.” Whitman has said: “When her poets arrive, America will in due time advance to meet them.” Now, when the spiritual movement is sweeping over this and other lands; now when religion is seen to rest on the dual principle of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, it seems to us “due time” for America to advance to meet America’s poet; he who prophesies the glorious, joyful triumph of the new faith, the new hope. Hear his glad refrain:—

“O glad, exulting, culminating song!
A vigor more than earth’s is in thy notes,
Marches of victory—man disenthral’d—the conqueror at last,
Hymns to the universal God from universal man—all joy!
A reborn race appears—a perfect world, all joy!
Women and men in wisdom, innocence, and health—all joy!
Riotous, laughing bacchanals fill’d with joy!
War, sorrow, suffering gone—the rank earth purged—nothing but joy
left!”

ARE THE TEN COMMANDMENTS BINDING ON THE GENTILES?

BY W. A. COLCORD.

WM. H. ARMSTRONG, in the last ARENA, says some very good things in his article on "Sunday at the World's Fair." It is becoming quite generally known, if not generally admitted, by all who are familiar with the Scriptures and current history, that nowhere in the Bible is to be found a command to keep Sunday, the first day of the week, as the Sabbath or a "holy day"; that Constantine, in A. D. 321, enacted the first Sunday law known to the world, and that, therefore, to teach the observance of that day as the Sabbath or a holy day is "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." But with Mr. Armstrong's ground of opposition to the demand for closing the World's Fair on Sunday, I do not agree. Though affirming that "no one can deny the necessity and benefit of man resting one day in seven," he holds that there is now no divinely appointed Sabbath, upon the ground that the Ten Commandments are no longer in force, at least so far as the Gentiles are concerned. After quoting Acts xv. 24, 28, 29, he says: "Here is freedom for the Gentiles from the Ten Commandments, and especially the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, the most valued of the ten."

Acts xv. 24, 28, 29, reads as follows: "Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law; to whom we gave no such commandment: . . . for it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things: That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well."

That Mr. Armstrong has placed a wrong construction

upon this Scripture in concluding from it that the Gentiles are free from obedience to the Ten Commandments, and that there is now no scriptural foundation for the Sabbath I think is evident from the following facts:—

1. There is nothing in this communication to the Gentiles prohibiting the having of false gods, blasphemy, disobedience to parents, murder, theft, lying, or covetousness, or, in other words, the transgression of the first, third, fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth, and tenth commandments, though in other Scriptures in the New Testament these things are expressly condemned.

2. When any of the Ten Commandments are quoted or referred to in the New Testament, they are always introduced as of binding obligation, and a rule of life for all. Instance the following:—

“Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.” Matt. v. 19.

“I had not known sin, but by the law; for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. . . . For I was alive without the law once; and when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died.” Rom. vii. 7, 9.

“Owe no man anything, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.” Rom. xiii. 8-10.

“If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well: but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convicted of the law as transgressors. For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all. For he that said, Do not commit adultery, said also, Do not kill. Now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the law. So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty.” James ii. 8-12.

3. The Saviour plainly declared that he did not come to destroy this law. Matt. v. 17. On the contrary, he taught its importance and binding obligation, as seen in the Scripture already quoted from Matt. v. 19. To the young man who came to him inquiring what he should do to inherit eternal life, he said: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments," and when asked which, he replied: "Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honor thy father and thy mother; and Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Matt. xix. 16-19.

4. And in the last book in the New Testament, down almost to the last verse of the last chapter, the importance of keeping the commandments is recognized: "Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." "Blessed are they that do his commandments that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city." Rev. xiv. 12, xxii. 14.

From this it must be evident that whatever freedom was granted to the Gentiles by the letter recorded in the 15th of Acts, it was not intended to grant them freedom from the Ten Commandments; otherwise there can be no agreement in the teachings of the New Testament upon this point.

What has been said of the Commandments as a whole, may be said of the one relating to the Sabbath. Wherever this or the Sabbath institution itself is referred to in the New Testament it is spoken of as existing and of binding obligation upon all. Said Christ, "The Sabbath was made for man." Mark ii. 27. Mr. Armstrong says: "We cannot find in the New Testament where he even recommended anyone to keep the Sabbath day holy. On the contrary, he and his disciples were accused of breaking the Sabbath by the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees." It is true that Christ was *accused* of breaking the Sabbath, but there is often a vast difference between being accused of doing a thing and doing it, especially if the accusers are hypocrites. Christ never broke the Sabbath. By both precept and example he taught the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees, who had loaded it down with their irksome and senseless tradition, how properly to observe it. To his accusers he said: "It is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days," thus not only recogniz-

ing the law of the Sabbath, but what that law permitted to be done on that day. Luke speaks of his practice thus: "And he came to Nazareth where he had been brought up; and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read." Luke iv. 16. Of those who had followed him from Galilee, while he lay in the tomb, it is said: "They returned and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment." Luke xxiii. 56. And of the practice of the great apostle to the Gentiles, Luke says: "And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three Sabbath days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures." Acts xvii. 2.

It must, therefore, be an erroneous conclusion that either the divine code known as the Ten Commandments, as a whole, or the Sabbath Commandment as a part, has been abrogated as a rule of life for either Jew or Gentile. While it is true that justification cannot be obtained through this on account of the disobedience of all, nevertheless it is everywhere in the Scriptures recognized as the synopsis of all religion and morality — a rule of life for all.

Therefore, opposition to the demand for closing the World's Fair on Sunday should not be made upon the ground that the Ten Commandments are not binding upon Gentiles, and that there is, therefore, now no Sabbath. Neither should it be made upon the ground that Sunday is not the Bible Sabbath. The true basis for opposition to this clamor for Sunday-closing is that the Church and State should be kept separate; that it is not the business of the Church to dictate how the world of the World's Fair shall be run. The world and the true Church of Christ run on different roads, one a broad road, and the other a narrow one. All attempts at reversing this order or of trying to run both on the same road have been fraught with evil, and only evil, both to the Church and to the State. Proscription, persecution, and intolerance, have invariably followed. Therefore, in the interests of good government and a pure Church I say, Let this clamor cease, and let the World's Fair Commissioners decide when the Fair shall be opened and when closed, as in their judgment they think will best serve the whole people, whose servants they are.

THE MUSIC OF THE SOUL.*

BY EDWARD P. SHELDON.

It is a most beautiful legend,
That the poet so sweetly sings,
Of the bell of the angels in heaven,
Which softly at twilight rings.
A music supremely entrancing,
But only that person can hear,
Whose heart is free from all passion,
And of hatred and sin is clear.

I know of a music much sweeter
And grander to mortal ear ;
Everyone, if he wills, can feel it,
And at any hour can hear.
'T is made, not by heavenly angels,
But by human hearts and wills ;
This music is most inspiring,
The soul with rapture it thrills.

'T is in the most wonderful palace,
Its glorious anthems roll ;
In the very innermost chamber
Of the temple of the soul.
The heart that feels the approval
That comes from a kindly deed,
Knows well there's no sweeter music
On which the spirit can feed.

In sweet'ning the life of another,
In relieving a brother's distress,
The soul finds its highest advancement,
And the noblest blessedness.

* Suggested by reading Rose Osborn's "The Bell of the Angels."

That life is alone worth the living
That lives for another's gain ;
The life that comes after such living
Is the rainbow after the rain.

This spirit of human kindness
Is the angel the soul most needs ;
It sings its most wonderful paean,
While the heart does its noblest deeds.
It leadeth our spirits in transport
To celestial valleys and streams ;
By day it gives grand inspiration,
And at night it brings beautiful dreams.

In the twilight of life when the angels
Ring for us their heavenly chime,
The true heart will mount on the pinions
Of a symphony more sublime.
And the reason that music is grander
Than the bell which the angels toll,
'Tis the voice of God thus proclaiming
His temple within the soul.

THE MORAL AND LEGAL ASPECT OF THE DIVORCE MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE DAKOTAS.

BY JAMES REALF, JR.

TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND divorces granted in a single year, and the majority demanded by women! So says the report ordered by Congress in 1887. This is not a sudden, sporadic, or exceptional manifestation of human wretchedness seeking relief and crowding into a tidal wave at a special time. It is a thing of steady growth; for, if we cast a statistical glance backward for a dozen years, we find a similar condition. During 1874 in Ohio, there were 1,742 applications for divorce, and the following year in Connecticut one tenth as many divorces as marriages. And these random straws betoken also that the blowing of this breeze is confined to no locality. So it may safely be said that possibly the most marked, and probably the most rapidly rising of the many fermentations in our present attempt at civilization, is this movement towards a wiser freedom in the necessary relations between the sexes. It is, indeed, the most hopeful sign of our century and of the next one, for it proves that the reign of common sense is commencing, and that the old superstition, by which a woman was punished with life-long loneliness or life-long slavery because her first marital choice was a blunder, is at last beginning to die — though, like all things of darkness, it dies hard.

Yet, my aim in this present article is not to declare the righteousness, demonstrate the dignity, and stimulate the growth of divorce, but simply in the brief compass of four thousand words to correct some false impressions lately spread abroad, first by corrupt and then by careless newspapers, in regard to the divorce laws of the United States, and especially as to the validity of divorces obtained in the great and liberal West.

I have been led to write this paper for THE ARENA,

because I have found that many lawyers in the East, where law has now a marked tendency to become specialized in practice, have extremely hazy ideas as to the exact present condition of this important branch of their business, very important, because marriage is a basic element of society.

Now, to understand divorce scientifically, we must first discover and consider what marriage is from our modern American standpoint. Some regard marriage as merely a civil contract, though full of curious exceptions to the laws governing other contracts; some deem it a sacrament or ordinance of religion, a special belonging of the Church; but in America this latter view never had aught but a feeble grasp on the public mind — was not admitted into our social structure, as was the case in England when Henry VIII. founded a somewhat new and rather interesting religion — and the former, or *quasi*-legal view, has entirely changed. American law, with the cumulative force of multitudinous decisions and *dicta*, declares marriage to be not a contract, but a status: *id est*, a legal condition established by law which the State can create, or change, or destroy. People can contract to commit marriage, but marriage executed is purely and entirely a status. One of our most eminent jurists, Judge T. M. Cooley, in his great work, "Constitutional Limitations," expressly declares this to be the American doctrine; and that most clear, convincing, and entertaining of law-writers, Joel Prentiss Bishop, shows in his latest work how this proposition that marriage is a status and not a contract is gaining ground in the courts of England. Bishop says: "We know the foregoing definition to be correct, because it accurately describes what the courts constantly decide. That marriage executed is not a contract we know, because the parties cannot mutually dissolve it; because the act of God incapacitating one to discharge its duties will not release it; because no accepted performance will end it; because no suit for damage will lie for the non-fulfilment of its duties; because these duties are not derived from its terms but from the law; because legislation may annul it at pleasure, and because none of its other elements are those of contract, but are all of status."

It is clear, then, that the Law and the Church are not at one or anywhere near to each other on this point, nor has the Church always been at one with itself. The Christian doc-

trine, according to Saint Paul, seventh chapter of First Epistle to the Corinthians, is that marriage is a remedy — a remedy against fornication or indiscriminate sexual intercourse. Truly a grand and edifying view which must commend itself to all delicate-minded men and women who have ever felt the ennobling passion of love as distinct from, although subsequently including and refining, that perfectly natural and proper sensation which poets call desire. For love, wherever it exists, in heart of prince or peasant, lady of fashion or country maiden, is an excitement not of the nervous system, but of the soul or affectional nature, and nearly always precedes that passion of which our lady novelists and erotic poets are so prodigal — in their books. Love is never born of passion, though the intensest passion may be born of love, a physico-psychical fact unknown to coarse and common sensualists. And marriage need not be the grave of love, as the Italian proverb goes; it can be made the eternal temple of an ever-growing tenderness that may justly be called the religion of the heart. But Paul thought otherwise; he deemed it merely a "remedy" and if anyone thinks I wrong the Apostle, let him or her examine carefully the text referred to, mark the caption of chapter in the Protestant version and also the notes in Haydock's Catholic Bible.

Following the folly of Saint Paul, the early Christian fathers quite logically took a degrading view of woman. From being considered among the primitive pagans as the natural spoil of man, woman among the primitive Christians came to be regarded as the spoiler, the temptress, a trap for men's souls cunningly baited by the devil. She was to be kept at a distance as dreadfully dangerous. Saint Austin even went to the extreme of objecting to the presence of his own sister in the same house with his saintship. This theological absurdity, however, wore itself out, and the Church, as it grew, developed a doctrine which, though viewed with hostility by many Protestant historians, seems to me to have been exerting through the centuries a refining influence on mankind by adding dignity to the position of woman, for the raising of the mother of Christ into peculiar prominence, not as an object of worship, but as a medium of intercession very close to the bosom of God, has been gradually counterbalancing the evil effect of that early Jewish fable, the

garden and the fall. Nay, more, after moulting the Pauline doctrine by applying it less broadly, the Church raised his "remedy" to the rank of a sacrament, and by setting the seal of its disapprobation on divorce gave to married women a certain assurance of position which they had lacked before. For in the Roman world—and the world was all Roman when Christianity began—men had the power to divorce their wives at mere whim,—the case of Cicero, for instance,—though it does not appear that divorced women were declassed thereby, for we read of their being married again and moving in society. But there can be no doubt that the Church for many centuries did improve the average condition of women of the upper classes. Cardinal Gibbons in his charmingly written book "The Faith of our Fathers" pushes this claim. "Christian wives and mothers, what gratitude you owe to the Catholic Church for the honorable position you now hold in society! If you are no longer regarded as the slave, but the equal of your husband; if you are no longer the toy of his caprice and liable to be discarded at any moment like the women of Turkey and the Mormon wives of Utah; but, if you are recognized as the mistress and queen of your household, you owe your emancipation to the Church." Brave words these, but they seem to claim all on the principle that, if all is boldly claimed in any argument, much is likely to be conceded by persons not possessed of settled opinions. Granting that the Church has done no little and is doing much to-day, through the many hallowed, unselfish lives in its membership, to elevate womanhood, yet one must admit also that to the Law, likewise, as it has developed among Protestant nations, is due as much, if not more, the present approximate equality of woman with man. And it must also be admitted that, while the Catholic Church has not yet wisely adjusted itself to the different conditions of modern life in this matter of divorce by relaxing the rigor of its rule, which it could do without any inconsistency, the Protestant Church, on the contrary, that for long was almost as stern in its refusal to countenance divorce except for one cause, is now with all its branches yielding gracefully to the blowing of this modern breeze—this wind of a wider and a wiser freedom. Even the Episcopal Church has beheld without horror in the last year one of its noted bishops aiding and abetting his daughter in the getting of

a divorce in Rhode Island so that she might marry a more suitable man. Though, indeed, it is curious that the Anglican Church should have held the other position so long, when we consider that it owes its origin to the desire for a divorce on the part of Henry VIII. of England which his Holiness, Pope Clement VII., refused to grant.

This liberalization of thought among the churches on this theme has its parallel in the liberalization of statutory laws likewise, and where formerly but few causes for divorce were permitted by law, now in the newer States a good many, though by no means yet enough, grounds are recognized and the duration of time one must suffer before the right to bring a suit can accrue has been greatly shortened, though it ought to be shorter still. If one can bring a suit instantly for breach of a mere contract, why for a breach of marriage, which, being a status, is of a nature far more important than contract, should not a suit be brought with equal promptness? If a man beats his wife she ought to have the right to have her marriage dissolved at once by a proper court, and he be compelled to support her till she marries again, or is able to support herself. But, *μέλλοντα τὰυτα*, these things are for the future, and for the present benefit of those who desire to procure divorce on the mildest grounds, rather than for harsh causes calculated, even if unproven, to throw odium upon and cause unnecessary suffering to the other party, such as accusations of adultery, cruelty, or drunkenness, and also for the benefit of those many modern readers, who like to study all facts by the light of comparison, I have compiled from the most recent data obtainable the following table of jurisdictions, or list of States and Territories in which desertion or wilful neglect are recognized as grounds for divorce, with the terms of residence necessary therein before an action can be begun.

Jurisdiction.	Length of Desertion Necessary, etc.	Length of Residence Required.
South Dakota:	One year wilful neglect or desertion,	90 days.
North Dakota:	One year wilful neglect or desertion,	
New Mexico:	No period specified,	Six months.
Arizona:	Six months intentional abandonment,	" "
Wyoming:	One year,	" "
California:	One year wilful neglect or desertion,	" "
Idaho:	One year,	" "
Nevada:	" "	" "
Nebraska:	Two years,	" "
Rhode Island:	Five years or less, at discretion of Court,	One year.

Jurisdiction.	Length of Desertion Necessary, etc.	Length of Residence Required.
Washington:	One year,	One year.
Wisconsin:	" "	" "
Montana:	" "	" "
Kansas:	" "	" "
Illinois:	" "	" "
Kentucky:	" "	" "
Iowa:	Two years,	" "

Examination of this table and a study of the concomitant statutes, unfortunately too verbose for entire citation here, show that the tendency towards easier relief from the ball-and-chain of an unhappy marriage manifests itself more and more in the new communities of the great West, and suggests an improvement on Bishop Berkeley's celebrated line about "the course of empire" to wit: "Westward the star of woman takes its way." For, since many more women than men are terrible sufferers in a wrong or imperfect marriage state, this western liberality, or tendency thereunto, betokens the dawn of a higher morality all over the country, and we may even hope to see in the first quarter of the next century mediæval South Carolina (*which admits of no divorce for any cause, and yet by statute has had to limit to one fourth of his estate the amount which a South Carolina gentleman may bequeath to his concubine or her issue*) sloughing the putridity of her legalized corruption and enacting as liberal divorce laws as those with which Dakota Territory, to its unfading honor, began its career, and which to-day make North and South Dakota the banner States of human progress.

Under Dakotan laws the statutory grounds for divorce are six: Adultery, extreme cruelty, wilful desertion, wilful neglect, habitual intemperance, and conviction of felony. Extreme cruelty (as defined by the liberal and salutary statute) is the infliction of grievous bodily injury *or grievous mental suffering* upon the other by one party to the marriage. Wilful desertion is the voluntary separation of one of the married parties from the other with intent to desert. But the husband may choose any reasonable place or mode of living, and if the wife does not conform thereto, it is desertion. Wilful neglect is the neglect of the husband to provide for his wife the common necessities of life, he having the ability to do so, or it is the failure to do so by reason of idleness, profligacy, or dissipation. Habitual intemper-

ance is that degree of intemperance from the use of intoxicating drinks which disqualifies the person a great portion of the time from properly attending to business *or which would reasonably inflict a course of great mental anguish* upon the innocent party. Desertion, neglect, and intemperance must be of a year's duration before either is a ground for action, *but they need not have occurred in the State.*

To acquire the right to sue for a divorce in the Dakotas a residence of ninety days is necessary, and the summons must be served on the defendant either by a six weeks' publication in a Dakotan newspaper, or by personal service in the State where the defendant resides. After this six weeks' publication, which means also the mailing of copies to the address or supposed address of the defendant, a period of thirty days is allowed by law in which the defendant, may make answer. If no answer is made in that time the case goes by default, but is not quite ended, for the judge appoints a commissioner to take testimony corroborative of the plaintiff's allegations. This commissioner, of course, being in another State generally, is chosen by the plaintiff's lawyers, and when the commissioner returns the testimony, the judge signs the decree. So, allowing ten days for the papers to go, return, and be signed, with ninety days for residence, forty-two days for publication of notice, and thirty days of further grace to the defendant for reply, it is possible to secure a legal divorce by coming to either Dakota in the comparatively short space of one hundred and seventy-two days, or less than six months. It is even possible in less time, if the defendant makes a contest, or a show of contest, by instructing some local lawyer to enter an appearance; for the right of reply accrues on the first day of service or of publication, so, if a man replied instanter to his wife's suit, the case might come up right after the ninety-first day and, should the judge be willing, might be decided on the ninety-second day. I have known a few instances of this rapidity, but, as a rule, those who come to the Dakotas for freedom must expect to spend from five to six months in this invigorating climate.

But is a Dakotan divorce valid everywhere? A good many lawyers, misled by certain cases decided in the courts of New York, and one or two other legally confused States, have entertained quite honest doubts on this point; but no

shadow of doubt can remain in the mind of anyone, lawyer or layman, who will take the trouble to study the cases commonly cited as against the validity of extra-territorial or other-State divorces obtained by a former citizen of New York, Massachusetts, etc.

The case most often quoted, and quoted very carelessly, in support of the doctrine that the divorce decrees of other States have no value in New York, unless the defendant submits to the extra-territorial jurisdiction by appearing to contest the suit, is the *People v. Baker*, 76 N. Y., 78. This case was, no doubt, correctly decided, but all that it contains of pertinence to the general proposition is this: If a domiciliary of one State neglects to defend an action for divorce brought by a domiciliary of another State, the divorce obtained by the plaintiff does not apply to the defendant.

Mrs. Baker obtained a divorce in Ohio, after serving papers upon her husband to which he paid no attention, and against which he made no appearance. Fancying honestly enough that her freedom freed him also, he married again, and was found guilty of bigamy. It was not pretended for a moment that the Ohio divorce was invalid as to the woman who got it, but it was inoperative and void as to the man who neglected to defend it, and did not come within the jurisdiction. In brief, while Ohio had the admitted right to change the marital status of Mrs. Baker, who had become an Ohio resident, it could not reach out and change the status of a New Yorker, unless he came voluntarily by attorney into Ohioan jurisdiction. The court expressly said in the Baker case (page 85); "It is, of course, to be granted that each State may declare and adjudge the status of its own citizens, and hence, if one party to a proceeding is domiciled in a State, the status of that party, as affected by the matrimonial relation, may be adjudged upon and confirmed or changed, in accordance with the laws of that State." Nor do I know of any case anywhere that has really enlarged upon the doctrine of this Baker case. *O'Dea v. O'Dea*, 101 N. Y., 23, often cited as a legal child of the Baker case, clearly does not, and in the recent case of *Munson v. Munson*, not yet reported in the books, while it appears that Judge Larned leaned to an enlarging view, it will be found that what led the other judges to concur in the result (doubtless not in the Larned reasonings that arrived at it)

was the taint of fraud in the original libel. New York courts do hold that the jurisdiction of courts of other States is always open to inquiry, or that if a judgment has been procured by fraud it may be questioned collaterally, *Hunt v. Hunt*, 72 N. Y., 217; but Judge Folger in that case qualifies this very strongly by saying: "There must be fraudulent allegations and representations designed and intended to mislead, with knowledge of falsity and resulting in *damaging deception*." And it is likely, as interstate divorce law evolves, that inquiry into jurisdiction of other State courts will be limited to cases where a showing of palpable or of provable fraud in procedure is made; otherwise the essential value of the constitutional provision that full faith and credit shall be given by the courts of one State to the findings of the courts of another is in danger of being vitiated.

My view of the validity of Dakotan divorces is not a solitary one by any means. In support of it I quote by permission from the letter of a great New York lawyer:—

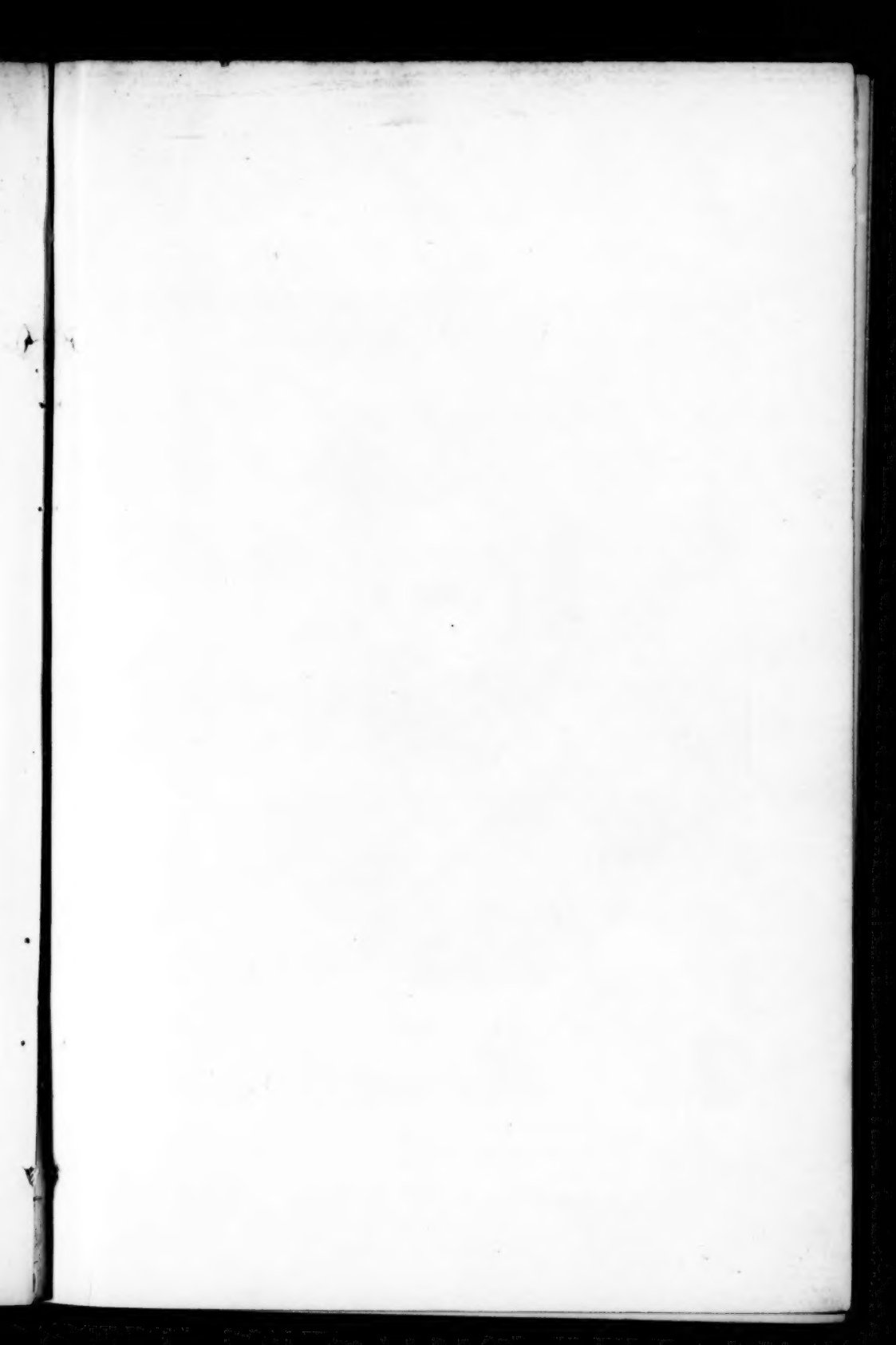
"I insist that a divorce obtained in South Dakota, for legal cause, with personal notice on the defendant, is and will be good in any State of the Union. There have been some foolish decisions in this State, but I think the next time a case gets before the Court of Appeals that Court will overrule the nonsense of the past. But in Mrs. —'s case there will be personal service. About that there can be no doubt, and in my judgment the divorce is just as good without personal service, provided the requirements of the statute are fully complied with and in good faith — and after such divorce a marriage is, in my judgment, perfectly good. Yours very truly,

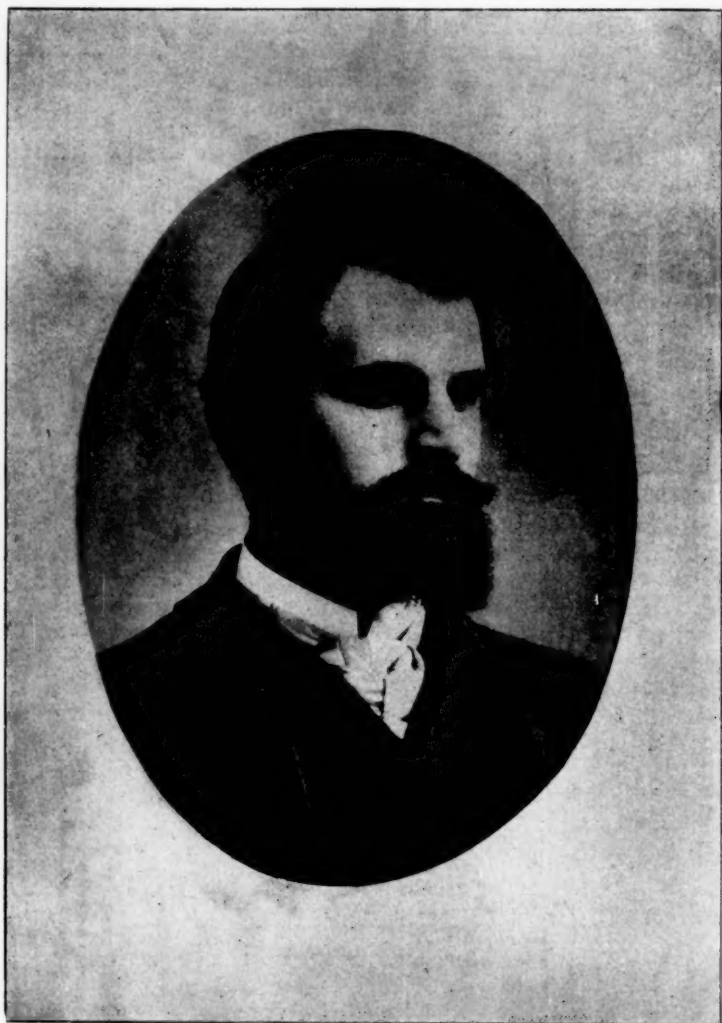
ROBERT G. INGERSOLL."

To this let me add one more point. It has been asserted that the coming to South Dakota for the purpose of obtaining a divorce would invalidate it, would be a fraud upon the Dakotan court, and that a divorce there obtained, such purpose being afterwards proved, would receive no recognition in other States. I submit that the contrary is true. Divorce is a legal right or remedy, and even if a person makes residence in the Dakotas for that sole purpose, the object is a lawful one, and if the preliminary residence for the ninety days required is actual or *bona fide*, it answers the requirements of the statute, and must be upheld by the Supreme

Court of the United States. Moreover, as to New York decisions being adverse, what case could be stronger than *Thorp v. Thorp*, 90 N. Y., 605? This holds that a man divorced in New York for adultery, and forbidden to remarry by the New York statute, who went to Philadelphia with a New York woman *for the sole and express purpose of evading* the New York decree by marrying her in that place and returning at once to New York, had contracted a marriage which being valid in that other State, was valid in New York also, and the Court of Appeals, with all the judges concurring, except Rapallo, who was absent, reversed the contrary judgment of the lower court and established this doctrine, that a person's purpose in going to another State to get married, even to evade a statute of his place of original *and subsequent* domicile, is a perfectly lawful and proper one. If to evade a legal penalty, such as prohibition of marriage, one may run over into another State, surely to gain a legal right one may take up residence in another State. How long they choose to retain such residence after fulfilling the statutory requirements, is their own individual concern of which courts can have no legitimate cognizance.

In conclusion I would say, as the unbiased result of much conscientious study of domestic relations, that the salutary effect of liberal divorce laws in the prevention of crime, the promotion of happiness, the development of individual dignity, and the betterment of the race, cannot be readily over-estimated. An easy return to perfect freedom from marriages that are wrong is the best harbinger and surest hastener of that desirable day when more marriages will be right.





Yours Sincerely
Paulin Galland

A SPOIL OF OFFICE.

A STORY OF THE MODERN WEST.

BY HAMLIN GARLAND.

PART I.

I.

EARLY in the cool hush of a June morning in the seventies a curious vehicle left Farmer Councill's door, loaded with a merry group of young people. It was a huge omnibus, constructed out of a heavy farm wagon and a hay rack, and was drawn by six horses. The driver was Councill's hired man, Bradley Talcott. Councill himself held between his vast knees the staff of a mighty flag in which they all took immense pride.

Laughter and scraps of song and rude witticisms made the huge wagon a bouquet of smiling faces. Everybody laughed, except Bradley, who sat with intent eyes and steady lips, his sinewy brown hand holding the excited horses in place. This intentness and self-mastery lent a sort of majesty to his rough-hewn face.

"Let 'em out a little, Brad," said Councill.

Behind them came teams, before them were teams, along every lane of the beautiful upland prairie, teams were rolling rapidly, all towards the south. The day was perfect summer; it made the heart of reticent Bradley Talcott ache with the beauty of it every time his thoughts went up to the blue sky. The larks, and bobolinks, and red-wings made every meadow riotous with song, and the ever-alert king-birds and flickers flew along from post to post as if to have a part in the celebration.

On every side stretched fields of wheat, green as emerald and soft as velvet. Some of it was high enough already to ripple in the soft winds. The corn-fields showed their yellow-green rows of timid shoots, and cattle on the pastures luxuriated in the fullness of the June grass; the whole land was at its fairest and liberallest, and it seemed peculiarly fitting that the farmers should go on a picnic this day of all days.

At the four corners below stood scores of other wagons, loaded to the rim with men, women, and children. Up and down the line rode Milton Jennings, the marshal of the day, exalted by the baton he held and by the gay red sash looped across his shoul-

ders. Everywhere were merry shouts, and far away at the head of the procession the Burr Oak band was playing. All waited for the flag whose beautiful folds flamed afar in the bright sunlight.

Every member of the grange wore its quaint regalia, apron, sash, and pouch of white, orange, buff and red. Each grange was headed by banners, worked in silk by the patient fingers of the women. Counting the banners there were three Granges there,—Liberty Grange, Meadow Grange, and Burr Oak Grange at the lead with the band. The marshal of the leading grange came charging back along the line, riding magnificently his fiery little horse.

"Are we all ready?" he shouted like a field officer.

"Yaas!"

"All ready, Tom?"

"Ready when you are."

He consulted a moment with Milton, the two horses prancing with unwonted excitement that transformed them into fiery chargers of romance, in the eyes of the boys and girls, just as the sash and baton transfigured Milton.

"All ready there!" shouted the marshals with grandiloquent gestures of their be-ribboned rods, and the teams began to move toward the west. The men stood up to look ahead, while the boys in the back end of the wagons craned perilously over the edge of the box to see how long the line was. It seemed enormous to them, and their admiration of the marshals broke forth in shrill cries of primitive wildness.

Many of the young fellows had hired at ruinous expense the carriages in which they sat with their girls, wearing a quiet air of aristocratic reserve which did not allow them to shout sarcasms at Milton, when his horse broke into a trot and jounced him up and down till his hat flew off. But mainly the young people were in huge bowered lumber wagons in wildly hilarious groups. The girls in their simple white dresses tied with blue ribbon at the waist, and the boys in their thick woolen suits which did all round duty for best wear.

As they moved off across the prairie toward the dim blue belt of timber which marked the banks of Rock River, other processions joined them with banner, and bands, and choirs, all making a peaceful and significant parade, an army of reapers of grain, not reapers of men. Some came singing "John Brown," or "Hail, Columbia." Everywhere was a voiced excitement which told how tremendous the occasion seemed. In every wagon hid in cool depths of fresh cut grass, were unimaginable quantities of good things which the boys never forgot even in their great excitement.

On the procession moved, with gay flags and flashing banners. The dust rolled up, the cattle stared across the fences, the colts ran snorting away, tails waving like flags, and unlucky toilers in

the fields stopped to wave their hats and gaze wistfully till the caravan passed. The men shouted jovial words to them, and the boys waved their hats in ready sympathy.

At ten o'clock they entered the magnificent grove of oaks, where a speaker's stand had been erected, and where enterprising salesmen from Rock River had erected soda water and candy stands, with an eye to business.

There was already a stupendous crowd, at least so it seemed to the farmers' boys. Two or three bands were blaring away somewhere in the grove; children were shouting and laughing, and boys were racing to and fro, playing ball or wrestling; babies were screaming, and the marshals were shouting directions to the entering teams, in voices that rang through the vaulted foliage with thrilling effect, and the harsh bray of the ice cream and candy sellers completed the confusion.

Bradley's skill as a horseman came out as he swung into the narrow winding road which led through threatening stumps into the heart of the wood past the speaker's stand. Councilll furled his great flag and trailed it over the heads of those behind, and Flora and Ceres, and all the other deities of the grange upheld the staff with smiling good-will. And so they drew up to the grand stand, the most imposing turn-out of the day. They sprang out and mingled with the merry crowd, while Bradley drove away. After he had taken care of the team he came back towards the grand stand and wandered about alone. He was not a native of the country and knew very few of the people. He stood about with a timid expression on his face that made him seem more awkward than he really was. He was tall, and strong, and graceful when not conscious of himself as he was now. He felt a little bitter at being ignored,— that is, he felt it in a vague and wordless way.

Lovers passed him in pairs, eating peanuts or hot candy which they bit off from a huge triangular mass still hot from the kettle. He had never seen any candy just like that, and wondered if he had better try a piece. The speaking on the stand attracted and held his attention, however. Oratory always had powerful attraction for him.

Seats had been arranged in a semi-circle around the stand, on which the speakers of the day, the band, and the singers were already grouped. All around, leaning against the trees, twined in the branches of the oaks, or ranked against the railing, were the banners and mottoes of the various granges. No. 10, Liberty Grange, "Justice is our Plea." Meadow Grange, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall." Bethel Grange, "Fraternity." Other mottoes were "Through Difficulties to the Stars;" "Equal Rights to All, Special Privileges to None."

The choir rose to sing, accompanied by an organ, and their voices rolled out under the vaulted aisles of foliage, with that thrilling, far-away effect of the singing voice in the midst of illimitable spaces. This was followed by prayer, and then Mr. Deering, the president, called upon everybody to join in singing the national anthem, after which he made the opening address.

He spoke of the marvellous growth of the order, how it had sprung up from the soil at the need of the farmer; it was the first great movement of the farmer in history, and it was something to be proud of. The farmer had been oppressed. He had been helpless and would continue helpless till he asked and demanded his rights. After a dignified and earnest speech he said:—"I will introduce as the next speaker Mr. Isaac Hobkirk."

Mr. Hobkirk, a large man with a very bad voice, made a fiery speech. "Down with the middlemen," he cried, and was applauded vigorously. "They are the blood-suckers that's takin' the life out of us farmers. What we want is to deal right with the manufacturers, an' cut off these white-handed fellers in Rock River who git all we raise. Speechifyin' and picnickin' is all well an' good, but what we want is *agents*. We want agents f'r machinery, wheat buyers, agents f'r groceries, that's what we want; that's what we're here for; that's what the grange was got together for. Down with the middlemen!"

This brought out vigorous applause and showed that a very large number agreed with him. Bradley sat silently through it all. It didn't mean very much to him, and he wished they'd sing again.

The chairman again came forward. "Napoleon said 'Old men for counsel, but young men for war.' But our young men have listened patiently to us old fellows for years, and mebbe they don't think much of our counsel. I'm goin' to call on Milton Jennings, one of our rising young men."

Milton, a handsome young fellow with yellow hair and smiling lips, arose and came forward to the rail, feeling furtively in his coat-tail pocket to see that his handkerchief was all right. He was a student at the seminary, and was considered a fine young orator. This was his first attempt before so large an audience.

"Ladies and gentlemen," he began after clearing his throat. "Brothers and sisters of the Order: I feel highly honored by the president by being thus called upon to address you. Old men for counsel is all right, if they counsel what we young men want, but I'm for war; I'm for a fight in the interests of the farmer. Not merely a defensive warfare but an offensive warfare."

"How? By the ballot. Mr. President, I know you don't agree with me. I know it's a rule of the order to keep politics out of it, but I don't know of a better place to discuss the inter-

ests of the farmer. It's a mistake. We've got to unite at the ballot box; what's the use of our order if we don't? We must be represented at the State legislature, and we can't do that unless we make the grange a political factor.

"You may talk about legislative corruption, Mr. President, and about county rings, to come near home. (Cheers and cries, "Now you're getting at it," "That's right," etc.) But the only way to get 'em out is to vote 'em out. ("That's a fact.") You m'say we can talk it over outside the order. Yes, but I tell you, Mr. President, the order's the place for it. If it's an educational thing, then I say it ought to educate and educate in politics, Mr. President.

"I tell you, I'm for war! Let's go in to win! When the fall's work is done, in fact from this time on, Mr. President, the farmers of this county ought to organize for the campaign. Cut and dry our ticket, cut and dry our plans. If we begin early and work together we can strangle the anacondy that is crushing us, and the eagle of victory will perch on our banners on the third of November, and the blood-suckers trouble us no more forever."

With this remarkable peroration, spoken in a high monotonous key, after the fashion of the political orator, Milton sat down mopping his face, while his admirers cheered.

The chairman, who had been twisting in his chair, hastened to say:—

"Fellow-Citizens: I'm not to be held responsible for anything anybody else speaks on this platform. I do not believe with our young brother. I think that politics will destroy the grange. To make it a debating school on political questions would bring discord and wrangling into it. I hope I shall never see the day. I now ask Brother Jennings to say a few words."

Mr. Jennings, a fat and jolly farmer, came to the front looking very hot. His collar had long since melted.

"I aint very much of a speech-maker, Mr. President, brothers and sisters. Fact is, I sent my boy down to the seminary to learn how to talk, so't I wouldn't haf to. I guess he represents my ideeas purty well, though, all except this political idee. I don't know about that. I aint quite made up my mind on that point. I guess I'd better leave the floor for somebody else."

"Glad you left the floor," whispered Milton to his father as he sat down by his side. Milton was a merciless joker, especially upon his father.

"We have with us to-day," said the chairman, "one of the most eloquent speakers in the State, one whose name all grangers know, our State lecturer, Miss Ida Wilbur."

The assembly rose to its feet with applause as a slender young woman stepped forth, and waited with easy dignity to begin her speech. There was something significant in her man-

ner, and a splendid stillness fell upon the audience as she began in a clear, penetrating, musical contralto.

"Brothers and sisters in the Order: While I have been sitting here listening to your speakers, I have been looking at the mottoes on your banners, and I have been trying to find out by those expressions what your conception of this movement is. I wonder whether its majesty appears to you as it does to me." She paused for an instant. "We are in danger of losing sight of its larger meaning.

"Primarily, the object of the grange has been the education of the farmers. It has been a great social educator, and I am glad, my friends and neighbors, when I can look out upon such an assembly as this. I see in it the rise of the idea of union, and intelligent union; but principally I see in it the meeting together of the farmers who live too much apart from the rest of the world.

"I believe," she cried, with lifted hand, "I believe this is the greatest movement of the farmer in the history of the world. It is a movement against unjust discrimination, no doubt, but it has another side to me, a poetic side, I call it. The farmer is a free citizen of a great republic, it is true; but he is a solitary free citizen. He lives alone too much. He meets his fellow-men too little. His dull life, his hard work, make it almost impossible to keep his better nature uppermost. The work of the grange is a social work." She was supported by generous applause.

"It is not to antagonize town and country. The work of the grange to me is not political. Keep politics out of it, or it will destroy you. Use it to bring yourselves together. Let it furnish you with pleasant hours. Establish your agencies, if you can, but I care more for meetings like this. I care more for the poetry there is in having Flora, and Ceres, and Pomona brought into the farmer's home."

Her great brown eyes glowed as she spoke and her lifted head thrilled those who sat near enough to see the emotion that was in the lines of her face. The sun struck through the trees, that swayed in masses overhead, dappling the upturned faces with light and shade. The leaves under the tread of the wind rustled softly, and the soaring hawk looked down curiously as he drifted above the grove, like a fleck of cloud.

On Bradley, sitting there alone, there fell something mysterious, like a light. Something whiter and more penetrating than the sunlight. As he listened, something stirred within him, a vast longing, a hopeless ambition, nameless as it was strange. His bronzed face paled and he breathed heavily. His eyes absorbed every detail of the girl's face and figure. There was wonder in his eyes at her girlish face, and something like awe at her

powerful diction and her impersonal emotion. She stood there like an incarnation of the great dream-world that lay beyond his horizon, the world of poets and singers in the far realms of light and luxury.

"I have a dream of what is coming," she said in conclusion, and her voice had a prophetic ring. "I see a time when the farmer will not need to live in a cabin on a lonely farm. I see the farmers coming together in groups. I see them with time to read, and time to visit with their fellows. I see them enjoying lectures in beautiful halls, erected in every village. I see them gather like the Saxons of old upon the green at evening to sing and dance. I see cities rising near them with schools, and churches, and concert halls, and theatres. I see a day when the farmer will no longer be a drudge and his wife a bond slave, but happy men and women who will go singing to their pleasant tasks upon their fruitful farms." The audience did not cheer, it sat as if in church. The girl seemed to be speaking prophecy.

"When the boys and girls will not go west nor to the city; when life will be worth living. In that day the moon will be brighter and the stars more glad, and pleasure, and poetry, and love of life come back to the man who tills the soil."

The people broke into wild applause when she finished. Tears were streaming down many of their faces, and when Deering arose to announce a song by the choir his voice shook and he made no secret of his deep emotion. After the song, he said: "Neighbors, we don't want to spoil that splendid speech with another this day. The best thing we can do is to try to think that good time is here and eat our dinner with the resolution to bring that good time as soon as possible."

Bradley sat still after the others had risen. The dazzling pictures called up by the speaker's words were still moving confusedly in his brain. They faded at last and he rose with a sigh and went out to feed the horses their oats.

II.

The dinner made a beautiful scene, the most idyllic in the farmer's life. The sun, now high noon, fell through the leaves in patches of quivering light upon the white table-cloth, spread out upon the planks, and it fell upon the fair hair of girls, and upon the hard knotted fingers of men and women grown old in toil. The rattle of dishes, the harsh-keyed, unwonted laughter of the women, and the invitations to dinner given and taken filled the air. The long plank seats placed together made capital tables, and eager children squatted about wistfully watching the display of each new delicacy. The crude abundance of the Iowa farm had been brought out to make it a really great dinner.

The Councils and the Burns families took dinner together. Mrs. Burns, fretful and worn, cuffed the children back from the table while bringing out her biscuit and roast chicken. Some sat stolidly silent, but big-voiced Councill joked in his heavy way with everyone within ear-shot.

"Well, the Lord is on our side, neighbor Jennings, to-day, anyhow," he roared across the space of two or three tables.

"He's always on our side, brother Councill," smiled Jennings.

"Wal, I'd know about that. Sometimes I'm a leettle in doubt."

"Got something good to eat?" inquired Jennings of Mrs. Councill.

"Land sakes, no! We never have anything fit to eat since Jane's got to havin' beaux; my cookin' aint fit for a hawg to eat."

"I aint a-goin' to eat it, then," roared Councill in vast delight at his joke on himself. "I'll go over and eat with Marm Jennings." They all roared at this.

"Tell us so't we c'n laff," called Mrs. Smith.

"Where's Brad?" said Mrs. Councill, looking about her. "Aint he comin' to dinner?"

"I don't see him round anywheres. Mebbe he's out feed'n the horses," replied Councill, without concern.

"Say! that was a great speech that girl made," put in Brother Smith, coming over with a chicken leg in one hand and a buttered biscuit in the other. "But what we want is free trade —"

"What we want is a home market," said Milton, some distance away.

"Oh, go to — Texas with y'r home market!"

"Tut, tut, tut, no politics, brethren," said Jennings.

Bradley was standing over by the trunk of a large oak tree, watching from afar the young girl who had so stirred him. She was eating dinner with Deering, his wife, and daughter, and Milton, who was there, looking very bright and handsome, or at least he appeared so to Eileen Deering, a graceful little girl, his classmate at the seminary.

Miss Wilbur sat beside Deering, who was a large man with a type of face somewhat resembling Lincoln's. She was smiling brightly, but her smile had something thoughtful in it, and her eyes had unknown depths like a leaf-bottomed woodland pool across which the sun fell. She was feeling yet the stress of emotion she had felt in speaking, and was a little conscious of the admiring glances of the people.

She saw once or twice a tall, roughly dressed young farmer, who seemed to be looking at her steadily, and there was something in his glance, a timid worshipful expression, that touched her and made her observe him more closely. He was very

farmer-like, she noticed ; his cheap coat fitted him badly, and his hat was old and shapeless. Yet there was something natively fine and chivalrous in his admiration. She felt that.

"You're a farmer's daughter yourself," said Deering, as if they had been speaking of somebody else who was.

"Yes, my father was a farmer. I'm a teacher. I only began a little while ago to speak in the interest of the farmer. It seems to me that everybody is looking out for himself except the farmer, and I want to help him to help himself. I expect to speak in every county in the State this winter."

Bradley crept nearer. He was eager to hear what she was saying. He grew furtive in his manner, when she observed him, and he felt as if he were doing something criminal. He saw Miss Wilbur say something to Mr. Deering, who looked up a moment later and said to Bradley, whom he did not know, "Why, certainly, come and have some dinner, plenty of it."

Bradley flushed hot with shame and indignation, and moved away deeply humiliated. They had taken him for a poor, friendless, lonely tramp, and there was just enough truth in his loneliness to make it sting.

"Say, Brad, don't you want some grub?" called Councill.

"Quick, 'r 'y lose it," said Burns.

He sat down and fell upon the dinner silently, but there was a hot flush still upon his face. He was not a beau. It had always been difficult for him to address a marriageable woman, and a joke on that subject threw him into dumb confusion. He had lived a dozen tender dreams of which no one knew a word. Indeed he never acknowledged them to himself. He had admired in this way Eileen Deering whom he had seen with Milton a few times during the year. He now envied Milton his easy air of calm self-possession in the presence of two such beautiful girls.

Miss Wilbur had stirred his unexplored self. Down where ambitions are born ; where aspirations rise like sun-shot mists, her words and the light of her face had gone. Already there was something sacred and ineffably sweet about her voice and face. She had come to him as the right woman comes sometimes to a man, and thereafter his whole life is changed.

He walked away from the few people he knew, and tried to interest himself in the games they were playing but he could not. He drifted back to the grand stand and sought about till he could see Miss Wilbur once more.

The hour or two after dinner was spent in visiting, getting acquainted, and the time seemed all too short. Each granger took this opportunity of inquiring after the health of the other grangers of the county. The young people wandered in laughing,

romping groups about the grounds, buying peanuts and sugar candy, and drinking the soda water and lemonade which the vendors called with strenuous enterprise.

On the shadowed side of the grand stand the leading men of the grange gathered, consulting about plans and measures.

"Now, it seems to me that we're going on all right now," said Deering. "We're getting our goods cheap and we're cuttin' off the middleman."

"And we're getting hold of the railways."

"Yes, but it don't amount to nothin' compared to what ought to be done. We ought 'o oust them infernal blood-suckers that's in our court-house, and we want to do it as a grange."

"No," said Jennings in his placid way, "we can do that better. I've got a plan."

"What we want," said Hobkirk, "is a party, a ticket of our own, then we can—"

"No, we can't do that. It won't be right to do that. We must stand by the party that has given us our railway legislation."

Milton and several of the younger farmers drew off one side and talked earnestly about the fall campaign.

"They'll beat us again unless we go in together," Milton said with emphatic gesticulation. Milton was a natural politician. His words found quick response in the erratic Hobkirk who had good ideas but whose temperament made all his words jagged shot. He irritated where he meant to convince.

Bradley listened to it all without feeling that he had any part in it. It didn't seem to him that politics had anything to do with the beautiful words of the girl. On the stand the choir began to sing again and he walked toward them. They sang on and the people listened while they packed away the dishes. They sang "Auld Lang Syne," and "We'll Meet Beyond the River," with that characteristic attraction of the common people for wistful, sorrowful cadences which is a paradox not easily explained.

"All aboard!" called Council from his wagon as Bradley drove the team up to the grand stand. While the merry people clambered in and paired off along the seats he was seeing Miss Wilbur shaking hands with the people who paused to say good-by. His heart ached for a glance of her brown eyes and a word, but he held the reins in his great hands and his face showed only his usual impassive reticence.

The banners were taken up, the children loaded in, the boys looking back wistfully to the games and the candy-stands. Council unfurled his flag to the wind, and Bradley swung the eager horses into the lane. On all sides the farmers' teams were getting out into the road; the work of the marshals was done. Each man went his own gait.

The young people behind Bradley began to sing:—

“Out on an ocean all boundless we ride,
We're homeward bound
Homeward bound.”

And so along each lane through the red sunset the farmers rolled home. Home through lanes bordered with velvet green wheat, across which the sunlight streamed in dazzling yellow floods. Home through wild prairies, where the birds nested and the gophers whistled. The dust rose up, transformed into gold by the light of the setting sun. The children fell asleep in their tired mothers' arms. The men shouted to each other from team to team, discussing the speakers and the crops.

Smiles were few as each wagon turned into its gateway and rolled up to the silent house. The sombre shadow of the farm's drudgery had fallen again on faces unused to smiling.

Only the lovers lingering on the road till the moon rose and the witchery of night came to make the girlish eyes more brilliant, softening their gayety into a wistful tenderness, only to these did the close of the day seem as sweet and momentous as the morning. While the trusty horse jogged on, impatient of the slow pace set by his driver, the lovers sat with little to say, but with hearts lit by the light that can glorify for a few moons, at least, even the life of ceaseless toil.

III.

A farm is a good place to think in, if a man has sufficient self-sustaining force—that is, if work does not dominate him and force him to think in petty or degrading circles.

It is a lonely life. Especially lonely on a large farm in the West. The life of a hired man like Bradley Talcott is spent mainly with the horses and cattle. In the spring he works day after day with the drag or seeder, moving to and fro an animate speck across a dull brown expanse of soil. Even when he has a companion there is little talk, for there is little to say, and the extra exertion of speaking against the wind, or across distances, soon forces them both into silence.

True, there is the glory of the vast sweep of sky, the wild note of the crane, the flight of geese, the multitudinous twitter of sparrows, and the subtle exalting smell of the fresh, brown earth; but these things do not compensate for human society. Nature palls upon the normal man when he is alone with her constantly. The monotone of the wind and the monochrome of the sky oppress him. His heart remains empty.

The rustle of flashing, blade-like corn leaves, the vast clean-cut mountainous clouds of June, the shade of shimmering popple

trees, the whistle of plover and the sailing hawk do not satisfy the man who follows the corn plow with the hot sun beating down all day upon his bent head and dusty shoulders. His point of view is not that from the hammock. He is not out on a summer vacation. If he thinks, he thinks bitter things, and when he speaks his words are apt to be oaths.

Still a man has time to think and occasionally a man dominates his work and refuses to be hardened and distorted. Many farmers swear at the team or the plow and everything that bothers them. Some whistle vacantly and mechanically all day, or sing in endless succession the few gloomy songs they know. Bradley thought.

He thought all summer long. He was a powerful man physically and turned off his work with a ready knack which left him free to think. All day as he moved to and fro in the rustling corn rows, he thought, and with his thinking, his powers expanded. He had the power of self-development.

The centre of his thinking was that slender young woman and the words she had uttered. He repeated her prophetic words as nearly as he could a hundred times. He repeated them aloud as he plowed day after day, through the dreamful September mist. He began to look ahead and wonder what he should do or could do. Must he be a farmer's hired man or a renter all his life? His mind moved slowly from point to point, but it never returned to its old dumb patience. His mind, like his body, had unknown latent forces. He was one of those natures whose delicacy and strength are alike hidden.

"Brad don't know his strength," Council was accustomed to say. "If he should ever get mad enough to fight, the other feller'd better go a-visitin'." And a person who knew his mind might have said, "If Bradley makes up his mind to do a thing he'll do it." But no one knew his mind. He did not know its resources himself.

His mind seized upon every hint, and bit by bit his resolution was formed. Milton going by one Monday morning on his way to the seminary stopped beside the fence where Brad was plowing and waited for him to come up. He had a real interest in Bradley.

"Hello, Brad."

"Hello, Milt."

"How's business?"

"Oh, so so. Pretty cold."

The wind was blowing cold and cuttingly from the northwest. Milton, rosy with his walk, dropped down beside the hedge of weeds in the sun and Brad climbed over the fence and joined him. It was warm and cosy there, and the crickets were cheeping feebly in the russet grass where the sunlight fell.

"Say, Milt, what does it cost to go to school down there?"

"Depends on who goes. Costs me 'bout forty dollars a term. Shep an' I room it and cook our own grub."

"What's the tuition?"

"Eight dollars a term."

"Feller could go to the public school for nauthin', couldn't he?"

"Yes, and that'd be all it 'ud be worth," said Milton with fine scorn.

"What does a room cost?" Brad pursued after a silence.

"Well, ours cost 'bout three dollars a month but we have two rooms. You could get one for fifty cents a week."

He looked up at Brad with a laugh in his eyes. "Don't think of starting in right off, do you?"

"Well, I don't know but I might if I had money enough to carry me through."

"What y' think o' doin', study law?"

"No, but I'd kind o' like to be able to speak in public. Seems t' me a feller ought 'o know how to speak at a school meetin' when he's called on. I couldn't say three words to save m' soul. They teach that down there, don't they?"

"Yes, we have Friday exercises and then there are two debating clubs. They're boss for practice. That's where I put in most o' my time. I'm goin' into politics," he ended with a note of exalted purpose as if going into politics were really something fine. "Are you?"

"Well, there's no tellin' what minit a feller's liable to be called on and I'd kinder like to,—"

Milton jumped up. "Well, hold on, this won't do f'r me; I must mosey along. Good-by," he said and set off down the road.

"When does the next term begin?" called Bradley.

"November 15th," Milton replied, looking about a minute; "better try it."

Bradley threw the lines over his shoulder and, bending his head, fell into deep calculation. Milton's clear tenor was heard ringing across the fields, fitfully dying away. Milton made the most of everything, and beside he was on his way to see Eileen. He could afford to be gay.

Bradley thought, even while he husked the corn, one of the bitterest of all farm tasks when the cold winds of November begin to blow. Councill had a large field of corn and every morning in the cold and frosty light Ike and Bradley were out in the field, each with a team. Beautiful mornings, if one could have looked upon it from a window in a comfortable home. There were mornings when the glittering purple and orange

domes of the oaks and maples swam in the mist dreamfully, so beautiful the eyes lingered upon them wistfully. Mornings when the dim lines of the woods were a royal purple, and gray-blue shadows streamed from the trees upon the yellow-green grass.

Husking was the last of the fall work and the last day of husking found Bradley desperately undecided. It was a bitter cold morning. As he leaped into the frost-rimmed wagon-box and caught up the reins, the half-frozen team sprang away with desperate energy, making the wagon bound over the frozen ground with a thunderous clatter.

In every field the sound of similar wagons getting out to work could be heard. It was not yet light. A leaden-gray dome of cloud had closed in over the morning sky and the feeling of snow was in the air. There was only a dull flush of red in the east to show the night had been frostily clear.

Ike raised a great shout to let his neighbors know he was in the field. Councill, with a fork over his shoulder, was on his way down the lane to help a neighbor thresh. Ike jovially shook the reins above the horses and Bradley followed close behind, and the two wagons went crashing through the forest of corn. The race started the blood of the drivers as well as that of the teams. The cold wind cut the face like a knife and the crackling corn-stalks flew through the air as the wagon swept over them. Reaching the farther side they turned in and faced toward the house.

"Jee Whitaker!" shouted Ike, as he crouched on the leeward side of his wagon, and threshed his arms around his chest, after having finished blanketing his team to protect them against the ferocious wind. "I'm thunderin' glad this is the last day of this kind o' thing."

He looked like a grizzly bear in bad repair. He had an old fur cap on his head that concealed his ears and the most of his face. He wore a ragged great coat that was generally gray but had white lines along the seams. Under this he wore another coat still more ragged and the whole was belted at the waist with an old surcingle. Like his father, he was possessed of vast physical strength and took pride in his powers of endurance.

"Wal, here goes," he said, stripping off his outside coat. "It's tough, but it aint no use dreadin' it."

Bradley smiled back at him in his wordless way, and caught hold of the first ear. It sent a shiver of pain through him. His fingers, worn to the quick, protruded from his stiff, ragged gloves, and the motions of clasping and stripping the ear were like the rasp of a file on a naked nerve. He shivered and swore, but his oath was like a groan.

The horse, shumped and shivering, looked black and fuzzy, by

reason of their erected hair. They tore at the corn-stalks hungrily. Their tails streamed sidewise with the force of the wind, which had a wild and lonesome sound, as it swept across the sear stretches of the corn. The stalks towered far above the heads of the huskers, but did little to temper the onslaught of the blast.

Occasional flocks of geese drifted by in the grasp of the inexorable gale, their necks out-thrust as if they already caught the gleam of their warm, southern lagoons. Clouds of ducks, more adventurous, were seen in irregular flight, rising and falling from the lonely fields with wild clapping of wings.

There was immensity in the dome of the unbroken, seamless, gray threatening sky. There was majesty in the dim plain, across which the morning light slowly fell. The plain, with its dark blue groves, from which thin lines of smoke rose and hastened away, and majesty in the wind that came from the illimitable and desolate north. But the lonely huskers had no time to feel, much less to think, upon these things.

They bent down to their work and snatched the red and yellow ears bare of their frosty husks with a marvellous dexterity. The first plunge over, Bradley found as usual that the sharpest pain was over. The wind cut his face, and an occasional driving flake of snow struck and clung to his face and stung. His coat collar chafed his chin, and the frost wet his gloves through and through. But he warmed to it and at last almost forgot it. He fell into thought again, so deep that his work became absolutely mechanical.

"Say, Brad, let's go to that dance over at Davis's," shouted Ike, after an hour of silence.

"I guess not."

"Why not?"

"Because I aint invited."

"Oh, that's all right; Ed, he told me to bring anyone I felt like."

"I aint going, all the same. I may be in Rock River by Saturday."

"They aint no danger o' you're going to Rock River."

Bradley fell once more into the circle of his plans and went the round again. He had saved two hundred dollars. It was enough to take him to school a year, but what then? It was the most momentous day in his life. Should he spend his money in this way? Every dollar of it represented toil, long days of lonely plowing or dragging, long days under the burning harvest sun. It was all he had, all he had to show for his life. Was it right to spend it for schooling?

"What good'll it do yeh?" Ike asked one day when Bradley was feeling out for a little helpful sympathy. "Better buy a

team with it and rent a piece of land. What y' goan to do after you spent the money?"

"I don't know," Bradley had replied in his honest way.

"Wal, I'd think of it a dum long spell 'fore I'd do it," was Ike's reply and Councill agreed with it.

Bradley fell behind Ike for he wanted to be alone. He had grown into the habit of accounting to *Her* for his actions, and when he wished to consult with *Her*, he wanted to be alone. There was something sacred, even in the thought of *Her*, and he shrank from having his thoughts broken in upon by any careless or jesting word.

As he pondered, his hands grew slower in their action and, at last, he stopped and leaned against the wagon-box. Something came into his heart that shook him, a feeling of unknown power, a certainty of faith in himself. He shivered with an electric thrill that made his hair stir.

He lifted his face to the sky and his eyes saw a crane sailing with stately grace, in measureless circle, a mere speck against the unbroken gray of the sky. There seemed something prophetic; something mystic in its harsh, wild cry that fell, like the scream of the eagle, a defiant note against wind and storm.

"I'll do it," he said aloud, and his hands clenched. At the sound of his voice he shivered again, as if the wind had suddenly penetrated his clothing. His dress made him grotesque. The spaces around him made him pathetic, but in his golden-brown eyes was something that made him sublime.

The thought which he dared not utter, but which lay deep under every resolution and action he made, was the hope, undefined and unacknowledged to himself, that sometime he might meet her and have her approve his action.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE DAWNING DAY.

AMID the crash of falling creeds and time-honored dogmas which to-day so distinctly marks a new epoch in the world of religious thought, an ill-defined sense of uneasiness is weighing on the minds of millions of conscientious, truth-loving people, like the shadow of a great sorrow or the premonitions of an impending catastrophe. This feeling is not surprising nor is it new. Since civilization dawned, at every onward step from lower or material conceptions to the acceptations of loftier ideals, the same thrill of general alarm has been experienced; the same sky overcast with depressing doubt and dread has canopied the thinking world. When Paganism in Rome gave way to the alien creed of the Galilean fisherman; when Luther electrified Europe, by hurling into the stagnant pool of dogmatic and conservative thought great thunderbolts forged from freedom's iron; when in our own time the era of modern science burst upon the dazzled vision of the world, civilization felt the same shock. Nor is this to be wondered at when we remember that the old ever contains much of the gold of truth, which rash reformers too often indiscriminately assail while denouncing real error. Besides it is a weakness of humanity to cling lovingly to old ideas and long-cherished dreams. Yet the onward march of progress, like the great natural laws which govern the universe, heeds not the heart-throbs, the fears, nor yet the prayers of individuals. When the era dawns for a larger truth to be made manifest, it comes much as does the morning, silently but with its all-pervading brightness. Many seek to shut out the light and may, for a time, darken their own mentality by closing their eyes to the new truth, but they are impotent to prevent the beneficent rays baptizing the outer world. The spectacle of powerful religious and conservative bodies, of political institutions and masterly brains attempting to baffle and drive back an on-coming but unwelcome truth, is one of the most instructive yet pathetic pictures constantly recurring in the civilized world, reminding one of men attempting to put out a prairie fire in the west or a forest ablaze in the pine belts of the north. The majestic ocean of flame may be checked at one point or held for a time at bay in another, but along the general lines billow upon billow sweeps onward. The inevitable triumph of the new over the old has never failed

to awaken the fear of millions, but the future has always demonstrated the wisdom of the new thought, revealing the splendid fact that the prophets and pioneer thinkers beheld grander vistas, nobler ideals, higher hopes, and loftier faiths, resulting from the new truths, the light of which seemed darkness to millions of minds, whose vision was still limited by their position in the valleys of prejudice and inherited thought. Precisely so with the battle now in progress in the religious world. Many of the noblest thinkers are passing under the fire of ancient critical and conservative thought, being tried for heresy and in some instances being driven from the religious bodies in which they have long labored, because, having risen above the masses in the valley, they have caught a broader view of creation's marvels and the thoughts and plans of the Divine Architect. Yet it will some day be demonstrated that these men constituted the vanguard of real progress. Some day it will be seen that they had caught more perfectly than the masses in their generation the true spirit of an elevating religion. If in the midst of this babel of confusion those who are racked with fear, doubt, and dread will lay aside prejudice and preconceived opinions, while thoughtfully studying the whole situation, not only as presented to-day, but comparatively as well, they will, I believe, be forced to the conclusion that it is more than possible that they are not in possession of all the truth held in the ever-broadening dawn of a perpetually coming day. They will, I think, behold that even now the world is aglow with a truer religion than has heretofore blossomed along the highway of time.

There is to-day, I believe, more deep, pure, and far-reaching love in the heart of humanity, a truer conception of justice, a higher standard of spirituality than civilization has ever known. Slowly has man arisen from the cellar of his being, from the gross level of pure sensuality and materiality. In the long, painful search of man for happiness, he has touched every key in his being. He has made a god of his stomach, crying, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry," as though gluttony was the magic key to happiness. Sensualism! Behold Tiberius, surrounded by maidens, crowned with laurels, eaten up with disease. Ambition! Napoleon, — Waterloo — St. Helena! And so through the long night of man's search for the secret of happiness, the shout has ascended from age to age, and from zone to zone. Eureka! Here is felicity! But scarcely have the words burst forth from joyous lips before the illusion has changed into a fleshless, grinning spectre of death. The history of man has been at once an evolutionary growth, and a search for happiness. But the nineteenth century, more than any other century, has given to the people a truer ideal than has heretofore been currently accepted, and the

eventide of this century, more than any other period, approaches nearest a realization of the coveted prize, because the great surging masses of our time have more fully than the masses of any other age, come into realization of the truth that in the mind or spiritual nature abides the true self, and that in the fountain of true spirituality, from whence flow love, truth, justice, and harmony, lies the most exalted and enduring happiness. True, far up the vista of the ages, as beacon lights along the treacherous shores, have great lives sent forth thoughts bearing the essence of the highest wisdom, religion, and philosophy, but it has remained until our time for the beauty and power of these age-long truths to be appreciated by the people. Nor must it be supposed that the light has as yet fully dawned on the popular mind. Only the red streaks which herald day, only the purple glow which is the prophet of effulgent light are visible. Still enough is seen to give assurance that the epoch is at hand when humanity will rise into a higher story of being; when men will come to fully realize that only ²⁵ the lofty aspirations of the spirit find response will true happiness be the heritage of the people.

A I know the statement that the great rank and file of Christendom to-day have a loftier conception of religion, and more true spirituality in their hearts than ever before will be called in question. It will be urged that the presence of such widespread poverty and suffering in the cities and country demonstrates the falsity of the assumption, and this would have force were it not for two things. (1) Never before has the question of the poverty and suffering been so agitated. Never have the rights of the masses been so dwelt upon. Never has there gone up such a mighty protest for justice for the oppressed as to-day. Our literature, from the newspaper to the most solid review, from the family weekly to the popular novel, is ablaze with moral enthusiasm. The philosopher, the novelist, the editor, the clergyman, and the playwright are treating social problems as never before. The very air is vibrating with expectancy. *The word has gone forth that there must be a change.* (2) The great army of people who are struggling by manual labor for a livelihood are no longer content with a mere subsistence. The angry discontent which is swelling from ocean to ocean is a most eloquent affirmation of the fact that the soul of the people has awakened to a higher life; a nobler ideal has passed before their vision. Henceforth discontent will fill their minds until conditions are so changed that the longings and aspirations of their higher natures are satisfied.

A few centuries ago men were content to be the vassals of kings, lords, and dukes. They lived much as the animals of the fields. Times changed, but still the masses found little time for aught beyond providing themselves with shelter, supplying the

appetite, and keeping the body warm. As long as this condition satisfied them there was little chance for improvement. When, however, the soul-life awakened, a great discontent was manifested, first among the urban population, later in remote country life; a discontent so pronounced, so resolute, so intelligent, that all thoughtful students of history will readily understand that nothing save that wider justice and broader freedom which will make life for the people mean something more than a struggle for existence can quiet the rising storm. Thus from the thinker in the seclusion of his study to the artisan at the bench and the farmer in the field, we find a profound intellectual awakening, which demonstrates the onward march of humanity. It is true that those in power may be blind to the signs of the times and deaf to the import of the rising storm, much as was the nobility of France before the Revolution, and they may through injustice and oppression cause a temporary eclipse of that which lies at the bottom of this agitation and discontent—the soul-awakening—so that the first result may be seen in one of those blind, brutal, and bloody storms of retribution, which have before darkened the pages of history, but beyond which rose truer life and a greater meed of justice. If, however, such a cataclysm should come, it would be attributable to an anæsthetized conscience on the part of conservatism, the privileged classes and a soulless plutocracy, rather than to the people whose moral and intellectual natures are now becoming aroused, and beyond any manifestation of ferocity and bloodshed which may come, will rise a newer and broader life in which the spiritual element will predominate, in which the soul-life will dissolve the baser instincts as fire melts ice. In this golden age which is at hand, religion will appear more radiant than poet's dream or artist's dearest conception, for she will be the fulfilment of man's noblest ideal, the embodiment of all that is pure, loving, wise, and just. In this coming age we may expect society to hold in reverence that lofty dream of seer and bard, that persistent prophecy which one generation has handed down to another, clothed in the varied imagery peculiar to different climes and ages, but ever bearing the same significance, *Liberty, Fraternity, and Justice*, and the great moving thought of this higher civilization will be summed up in the new watchword, which is so old, "OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD;" *drive out the base with the pure; destroy hate with love, brutality with gentleness, and elevate man by touching all the well-springs of spirituality, by playing upon the notes of his higher being.*

